FBIS DAILY REPORT

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ZHIVKOV SPEAKS AT CC PLENARY SESSION IN PLOVDIV

AU191825 Sofia BTA in English 1815 GMT 19 Mar 85

[Text] Sofia, March 19 -- A plenary session of the CC of the BCP was held in the town of Plovdiv on March 18 and 19. The plenary session was attended by the members and candidate members of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP, the chairman and the members of the Bureau of the Central Control and Auditing Commission of the BCP, the members of the Standing Committee of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, representatives of the central leaderships of the Fatherland Front, of the Bulgarian trade unions, of the Dimitrov Young Communist League, members of the Executive Committee of the Central Council of the National Agro-Industrial Union, economy and party functioneers and specialists in the sphere of agriculture.

The participants in the plenary session visited a number of projects in the County of Plovdiv and acquainted themselves with the new vanguard technologies introduced in agriculture and the food industry.

An introductory speech on the preliminarily distributed report entitled "For the Intensive and Steady Development of Agriculture and the Food Industry on the Basis of the Newest Achievements of Techno-Scientific Progress" was delivered by Mr Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the CC of the BCP.

Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council made an extensive speech.

The plenary session of the CC of the BCP adopted a decision on the issue discussed.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1830 GMT on 19 March also carries a report on the BCP CC Plenum, which adds the names of the following speakers who took the floor at the plenum:

"Ivan Panev, member of the BCP Central Committee, first secretary of the Plovdiv Okrug BCP Committee, and chairman of the Economic Academy; Angelina (Tutcheva), chairman of the Nikopol agro-industrial complex; Zhivkov Topalov, twice Hero of Socialist Labor and leader of the Ruse agro-industrial complex brigade; Aleksandur Petkov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Agro-Industrial Union Central Council; (Radoycho Savov), secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee; Yanko Markov, member of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union Permanent Board and minister of forests and forest industry; Lazar Donchev, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and secretary of the Lovech Okrug BCP Committee; Nacho Georgiev, leader of the [name indistinct] complex in (Ishkovo) village, Silistra Okrug; Evtim Krustev, member of the BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission and chairman of the Turgovishte Okrug People's Council Executive Committee; Zhelyu Dobrev, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and secretary of the Tolbukhin Okrug BCP Committee; and Academician Kiril Bratanov, chairman of the Bulgarian Scientific Workers Union."]

DOYNOV RECEIVED BY GREEK PRIME MINISTER IN ATHENS

AU191246 Sofia BTA in English 1213 GMT 19 Mar 85

[Text] Athens, March 19 (BTA) -- Today Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou of Greece received Bulgarias' Minister of Mechanical Engineering Ognyan Doynov, Politburo member and secretary of the CC of the BCP.

Mr. Ognyan Doynov conveyed to the Greek head of government most cordial greetings from State Council President Todor Zhivkov.

During the meeting, which passed in a cordial friendly atmosphere, the two officials discussed the guidelines for the further development in depth and scope of Bulgaro-Greek economic and techno-scientific cooperation in the field of mechanical engineering and electronics and in other spheres. Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou expressed satisfaction with the dynamic progress of bilateral cooperation in electronics and of Bulgaro-Greek economic cooperation as a whole. He extended most cordial wishes for happiness and prosperity of the Bulgarian people to Mr Todor Zhivkov.

Mr Yeoryios Lianis, minister of research and technology of Greece, attended the meeting along with Mr Petur Slavchev, the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Peoples Republic of Bulgaria to Athens.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR ANTONOV'S DEFENSE SET UP

AU181514 Sofia BTA in English 1445 GMT 18 Mar 85

[Text] Sofia, March 18 (BTA) -- The Bulgarian public has constituted a National Committee in Defence of Sergey Antonov. The fate of the innocent Bulgarian national, indicted and arraigned on alleged charges of complicity in staging the assassination attempt against the pope in 1981, has found a broad response in our country. From the very start, when the absurd accusations against Sergey Antonov, Zhelyo Vasilev and Todor Ayvazov became known, a wave of anger and indignation swelled against the unwarranted charges, based on no reliable evidence whatsoever. The Bulgarian people has realized that Antonov and his comrades are the victims of an unprecedented anti-Bulgarian and anti-socialist ideological and political campaign. Our public urges an objective and impartial attitude to the accused Bulgarian nationals and calls on the world public opinion to back the cause of justice.

The National Committee in Defence of Sergey Antonov is chaired by corresponding member Prof. Boris Spasov, president of the Union of Lawyers in Bulgaria. The committee comprises prominent Bulgarian lawyers, public figures, scientists, representatives of mass organisations, of cultural union, journalists:

-- Prof. Mikhail Genovski, Hero of Socialist Labor, member of the Executive Committee of the Union of Lawyers in Bulgaria.
-- Mr Angel Shishkov, deputy chairman of the National Council of the Fatherland Front.
-- Prof. Dimitur Dimitrov, member of the Standing Committee of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union and editor-in-chief of the ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME newspaper.
-- Corresponding member Prof. Aleksandur Yankov, president of the Bulgarian International Law Association.
-- Prof. Dimitur Mikhaylov, lecturer at the Faculty of Law.
-- Prof. Aleksandur Monov, chief toxicologist of the Republic.
-- Prof. Georgi Bakhchevanov, chairman of the Central Board of the Lawyers' Bar.
-- Assistance Professor Kostadin Kochev, lecturer at the Faculty of Law.
-- His Holiness Patriarch Maksim, head of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church.
-- Mr Dimitur Viyachev, secretary of the National Council of the Fatherland Front.
-- Ms Veselina Peycheva, secretary of the Bulgarian Women's Committee.
-- Ms Lilyana Dimitrova, secretary of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, Hero of Socialist Labour.

-- Ms Lilyana Stefanova, vice president of the Writers' Union.
-- Mr Stoyan Krustev, senior vice president of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists.
-- Ms Mira Todorova, journalist, deputy chairman of the National Peace Committee.
-- Mr Nikolay Kamov, secretary of the CC of the Dimitrov Young Communist League.

TANCHEV MEETS SOUTH AMERICAN LEADERS IN BRASILIA

Talks With Brazilian Officials

AU161601 Sofia BTA in English 0816 GMT 16 Mar 85

[Text] Brasilia, March 16 (BTA) -- A Bulgarian official delegation led by Mr. Petur Tanchev, first vice-president of the State Council and secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union [BAU], which will attend the taking office ceremony of the newly elected president Mr. Tancredo Neves, presented himself [as received] to the president Joao Figueiredo.

Mr. Petur Tanchev met Mr. Ulysses Guimaraes, president of the influential Partido do Movimento Democratico Brasileiro (PMDB) and chairman of the Chamber of Deputies.

At the talks, which passed in a friendly atmosphere, Mr. Ulysses Guimaraes stressed that Brazil will continue her efforts for maintaining and consolidating world peace and for achieving understanding among the countries. The chairman of the Chamber of the Deputies gave a high assessment to the positive role which Bulgaria plays in the Balkans with her peaceful policy.

The talks expressed the opinion that the broadening of the relations between the BAU and the PMDB will contribute to deepening and consolidating the relations between Bulgaria and Brazil.

Mr. Petur Tanchev also met Senator Umberto Lucena, leader of the parliamentary group of the PMDB in the Senate. They exchanged opinions on the role of the parliaments in promoting the relations between the two countries and in consolidating peace in the world.

Meets Argentine President

AU181002 Sofia BTA in English 1918 GMT 17 Mar 85

[Text] Brasilia, March 17 (BTA) -- Mr. Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union and first vice-president of the State Council of Bulgaria met Argentina's President Mr. Raul Alfonsin who is in the Brazilian capital in connection with the celebrations on the occasion of the taking of office of the new president of Brazil.

At the talks which passed in a friendly atmosphere it was stressed that the relations and cooperation between the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union and the Union Civich Radical, the ruling party in Argentina, contribute to the promotion of the relations between the two countries.

Mr. Petur Tanchev acquainted President Raul Alfonsin with Bulgaria's achievements in the construction of socialism.

President Raul Alfonsin gave a high assessment to Bulgarias consistent peaceful policy and to the personal contribution of the Bulgarian state leader Mr Todor Zhivkov to the realization of the idea of turning the Balkans into a nuclear-weapon-free zone.

Argentina, President Raul Alfonsin stressed, pursues a foreign political course towards peace and cooperation among the peoples, towards detente and averting a nuclear catastrophe. An expression of this policy is her participation in the New Delhi meeting of six state leaders.

The Argentinian president stressed that the crisis in Central America can be overcome only on the basis of the proposals of the Contadora Group which his country fully supports.

Mr Raul Alfonsin expressed the hope that the East-West dialogue will achieve new considerable results which is in the interest of all peoples and of the preservation of peace in the world.

BELGIAN DEPLOYMENTS JEOPARDIZING ARMS TALKS

LD191538 Prague International Service in Czech and Slovak 2230 GMT 18 Mar 85

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Until 14 March the Belgian Government had been putting off a decision on whether to deploy new American missiles, on the logical grounds that a chance should be given to the Soviet-American talks, the aim of which is precisely the opposite of new missile deployments, namely reducing the nuclear arsenal. Consequently the Belgian Government came under exceptional pressure from the United States, and this pressure has been blatantly increased in the last few weeks.

In January Wilfried Martens, the Belgian prime minister, paid a visit to Washington where he was left with no doubt about the repercussions Belgium would have to face if it did not live up to its commitments in respect to the Atlantic allies' unity. The whole situation came to a head at the end of last week. On Thursday the government decided that the missiles would, indeed, be deployed. In the afternoon Parliament was informed of the decision, and by the evening the first American missiles were already on site at the Florennes base. It was in opposition to these very missiles that the huge peace demonstration took place there. Since the government did not give Parliament the chance to vote on the issue, the people themselves voted with their feet.

What drove the Belgian Government to make such a sudden decision? The only explanation is the beginning of the new Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space weapons in Geneva. There, under the umbrella of nuclear weapons in general, talks are to be held on the particular category of weapons known as medium-range missiles, and that is the category into which the new American cruise missiles also fall, missiles which are now being deployed in Europe, and, since last week, in Belgium too.

The Belgian Government, by the timing of its decision, has gone along with Washington's logic, according to which the best way to achieve disarmament is to accumulate more and more arms, because it is only in this way, so the reasoning goes, that the Soviet Union will be forced to make concessions.

Unfortunately, the hitch here is that the aim at Geneva is not to force anyone into concessions, but to reach a mutually-acceptable agreement which ensures equal security and a balance of forces. A number of Belgian politicians, too, are of the same view. Karl van Miert, president of the Flemish Socialist party, bluntly stated that Belgium has wasted a great opportunity to help end the arms race. Belgium has not only helped stimulate the further continuation of the arms race, but also dealt a body-blow to the Geneva talks.

White House representative Larry Speakes, immediately after the announcement by the Belgian Government, heartily welcomed its decision. It will have a significant influence, he said, on the Soviet-American talks in Geneva because it shows the resolve of the NATO allies. The only thing is, this is exactly the kind of action that left such a sad mark on the previous Soviet-American talks and which, in fact, shattered the foundations of the negotiating platform. Now a new platform is being built and, like anything new, it needs support. Belgium, on the contrary, has only undermined this platform.

George Shultz, the American secretary of state for foreign affairs, complained 16 March on American television that Viktor Karpov, head of the Soviet delegation in Geneva, had made critical remarks about the American attitude at the Geneva talks, adding that he had thus violated the agreement made by both sides not to talk about the negotiations so as not to jeopardize their prospects.

Viktor Karpov, though, merely summed up the American attitude, an attitude which Washington itself is making abundantly obvious. His summation cannot jeopardize the prospects of the Geneva talks. What can jeopardize them, however, is concrete action -- just the kind of action that the Belgian Government decided on under pressure from Washington, and despite the wishes of the Belgian people, which were clearly shown during yesterday's peace demonstration.

CONTACTS WITH WESTERN PEACE GROUPS INCREASING

LD191113 Prague CTK in English 1037 GMT 19 Mar 85

[Text] Bratislava March 19 (CTK) -- "Czechoslovakia and other central European countries are one of the regions threatened with complete annihilation in the event of a third world war. This impels the Czechoslovak public to spare no effort in the struggle to preserve peace", deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak Peace Committee Josef Krejci said.

"An important factor in efforts to eliminate the danger of war is the constantly expanding cooperation betwewn peace and anti-war forces in the world. Especially important for Czechoslovakia are contacts with progressive forces in Western Europe, particularly in neighbouring countries. We appreciate our very good cooperation with representatives of the peace and anti-war movement in West Germany. We have also intensified contacts with political parties of this country, especially with the SPD.

"This month, we expect in Czechoslovakia the first visit of a delegation of the Greens party, and in June, we will organize in Marianske Lazne a meeting of representatives of West German and Czechoslovak peace forces, for the purpose of agreement on a joint course of action in efforts to avert the danger of war.

"We are also expanding our contacts with the peace movement in Great Britain. We seek more intensive cooperation mainly with the strongest peace organization in Britain, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND)," Josef Krejci said.

HUSAK RECEIVES GDR NATIONAL FRONT'S KOLDITZ

LD191237 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1100 GMT 19 Mar 85

[Text] Gustav Husak, president of the Republic and chairman of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak National Front, received in Prague Castle today Lothar Kolditz, member of the Council of State of the GDR and president of the National Council of the National Front, who is in Czechoslovakia on an official visit.

In a cordial and friendly talk, both statesmen informed one another about the tasks of the National Fronts of Czechoslovakia and the GDR in implementing the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ and 10th SED Congresses, and about both organizations' participation in building developed socialist societies and in the struggle to preserve world peace.

POPIELUSZKO TRIAL, CHURCH 'PROVOCATIONS' VIEWED

AU181312 [Editorial Report] Prague HALO SOBOTA in Czech, the weekend supplement of RUDE PRAVO, on 9 March on page 3 and Bratislava NEDELNA PRAVDA in Slovak, the weekend supplement of Bratislava PRAVDA, on 15 March on page 9 both carry a 2,200-word article by Jan Lipavsky titled "About the Torun Trial From a Different Angle." The article deals with the recent trial in Torun of "four former members of the Ministry of Interior charged with the abduction, resulting in death, of the Catholic priest Jerzy Popieluszko" and with the "provocations" of the Polish Catholic clergy reportedly "exposed" during the court proceedings.

Lipavsky opens the article by saying that, contrary to the expectations of "the enemies of People's Poland" the trial would "boil down to an accusation of Polish state bodies, the government, and the socialist system as such," the "basic thrust" of the trial was "criticism of the Polish Catholic clergy." That is why, supposedly, "anti-Polish anticommunist forces now do not hide their frustration and irritation" with the trial.

Lipavsky asserts that the trial "clearly and unambiguously proved" that the "abduction" of Popieluszko was "an individual action by the four perpetrators"; a "provocation that never had, does not have, and never will have anything in common with the policy of the government and its security bodies", and a "senseless, inexcusable act of personal licentiousness." At the same time, he says, the trial "brought to light a number of circumstances testifying no less unequivocally to the hostile attitudes and hostile actions of a segment of the Polish Roman Catholic clergy." It revealed, according to Lipavsky, that "Popieluszko was one of many priests who grossly infringed upon the statute of a clergyman's activity, upon the constitutional order, and upon the principle of separation of state and church."

Lipavsky goes on to say that despite the attempts of the Polish Episcopate to "cast doubt on the course of the trial and the manner in which Polish information media covered the event," the "overwhelming majority of the working people" in Poland consider the manner and extent of information about the trial to have been "correct and sufficient." To support this claim, Lipavsky cites the results of a public opinion poll published by Polish newspapers on 22 February.

Quoting Polish sources (the government daily RZECZPOSPOLITA, the weekly ARGUMENTY, and Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban), Lipavsky then cites various cases of "abuse of freedom of religion" by Polish clergymen for "spreading hatred against anything socialist." He reports that Father Malkowski denounced communists as "collaborators with the Gestapo," that Father Kardasz from Torun once likened people's power to "Satan," that an unnamed priest from Poznan warned believers that participation in the elections would amount to a "grave sin," and that Father Jankowski from Gdansk prays for the "liberation of the country." All these pronouncements, Lipavsky says, constitute a "blatant violation of article 81, paragraph 2" of the Polish Constitution.

According to Lipavsky, the trial also revealed the "characteristic hypocrisy of some members of the Roman Catholic clergy." He recalls the case of the Polish priest Zych, sentenced in 1982 for his complicity in the murder of Z. Karos, a policeman, and points out that "ever since Zych wound up behind prison bars, representatives of the Roman Catholic church have been weeping that, allegedly, he has suffered a 'mental breakdown' in prison and have repeatedly intervened on his behalf to secure his release." The absence of similar concern for Sergeant Karos is viewed by Lipavsk as proof of the "double standards" of "some" church circles in Poland.

Lipavsky's article also accuses the "Polish high clergy," and Popieluszko in particular, of "living beyond their means." He says that Popieluszko drove a West German Volkswagen Golf, was a beneficiary of Western "so-called charity," and had access to "large financial sums in the form of 'donations.'" Besides, Lipavsky adds, "the question was asked in the courtroom, in connection to J. Popieluszko, about the whereabouts of the Z4.7 million" from the account of the outlawed Solidarity. Apart from this, Lipavsky says, Popieluszko also "engaged in illegal antistate activity." During a search, "explosives " were reportedly found in his "second flat."

In concluding, Lipavsky quotes Polish Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban and Premier Jaruzelski on illicit political activities of a "certain part" of the Polish Catholic clergy and the Polish authorities' determination to subdue them.

Throughout his article, Lipavsky never uses the word "murder" but only the word "death" in referring to Popieluszko's slaying. Also, he never discloses the exact rank of the "four former members of the Ministry of Interior" charged with the act.

HUSAK GREETS CATHOLIC BISHOP FERANC ON BIRTHDAY

AU181116 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Mar 85 p 1

[Text] Prague (CTK) -- CSSR President Gustav Husak sent Jozef Feranc, bishop of Banska Bystrica and chairman of the Slovak Corps of Ordinaries, a congratulatory letter on the letter's 75th birthday.

In the letter he expressed high appreciation of the bishop's resolve to serve the people of our country and the consolidation of peace, as well as of his contribution to the creation of good relations between the Roman Catholic Church and the Czechoslovak socialist state. He cordially wished the bishop firm health and good cheer for the further years of his life and work.

PRIVATE FARM PLOTS CAUSING NEGLECT OF COLLECTIVES

AU191112 [Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 18 March carries on pages 1 and 2 a 1,000-word report by Frantisek Budd entitled "New Spring With Old Problems." The report is datelined Hurbanovo and deals with vegetable production in the Kamarno District in Slovakia. "On the whole it can be said that the production of vegetables in the district is rising, the quality is improving, and cultivation is becoming more intensive and effective. True, the path of progress could be far smoother were it not for the protracted worries and new problems facing the vegetable cultivators," the report says. One of the negative factors affecting vegetable production is adverse weather conditions; the others are "subjective factors, which should be analyzed more deeply in the enterprises."

The report quotes figures on the district production of various kinds of vegetables and goes on to deal with the insufficient deliveries of mulching foil to cooperative and state farms. Quoting an official of the Dunajplod Joint Agricultural Enterprise in Hurbanovo, Buda states that the foil-producing enterprise Plastika is "unwilling to sign an economic delivery contract because it must deliver its entire foil production to the retail trade network for small vegetable growers." This situation has been the same for years, Buda says, and the cooperative and state farms using the foil method of vegetable production have had to either cut down their acreage for this production, or to give up this method entirely. "The reason for this is the lack of manpower and also of means of mechanization," Buda concludes.

"On the other hand -- and this is not merely an economic but also a social problem -- the vegetable hangars in the gardens at the side of the people's homes are multiplying like mushrooms after a rain. True, there can be no objection to sensible forms of gardening, this kind of activity should even be supported and propagated. But in many gardens the foil shelters have grown beyond the tolerable limit, both in terms of size and in terms of production yields. These private gardens are distracting people's attention from work in the socialist agricultural and industrial enterprises; they are leading people away from activities that are for the public benefit and toward the accumulation of wordly riches; and they are adversely affecting the economies of cooperative farms and state farms. That is why it is becoming obvious this spring, too, that the activities of small growers must be directed and oriented to primarily correspond to the general social interests," Buda states.

HAEBER RECEIVES DKP DELEGATION FOR TALKS

LD181529 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1336 GMT 18 Mar 85

[Text] Berlin, 18 Mar (ADN) -- Today, Herbert Haeber, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received a delegation from the DKP Executive Committee, led by Werner Cieslak, member of the Presidium and Secretariat of the DKP Executive Committee, for an exchange of views on international questions and the two parties' policies.

The two men concurred in describing the preservation of peace and the elimination of the danger of war as the most pressing task of the present because the survival of mankind is at stake. They welcomed the new Soviet-American negotiations on the entire range of nuclear and space weapons which have begun in Geneva. They stressed that primary importance must be attached to preventing the militarization of space and to ending the arms race on earth, rather than extending it to new spheres. The forthcoming 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitler fascism and the liberation is an admonition to work with even greater energy to spare the world a nuclear inferno.

During the meeting, which proceeded in the spirit of friendly alliance, Herbert Haeber briefed the guests on preparations for the 11th SED Congress. The successful balance sheet of work so far, the numerous initiatives of the GDR working people in the present, and the far-reaching goals of peaceful work for the future, characterizes the GDR's steady course in further shaping developed socialist society.

Werner Cieslak spoke of experiences in realizing the decisions of the 7th DKP Congress. It centered on the determined struggle under the motto: Everything for Peace -- Jobs Instead of Missiles. This is all the more urgent in that for the FRG and its citizens in particular, security is attainable only through disarmament not nuclear arms escalation.

He praised the constructive peace policy of the USSR, the GDR, and the other socialist states as a great encouragement to all those who support a halt to the arms race and a return to detente in the spirit of realism and common sense. In view of the worsening effects of the capitalist crisis, the continuing growth of mass unemployment, cuts in social welfare, and the emergence of a new poverty, the DKP is resolutely fighting for the social and democratic rights of workers and employees, in particular of young people who are working and studying.

The DKP delegation will familiarize itself with the results of the development of socialism in the GDR and with experiences in the SED's party work in Berlin and Frankfurt/Oder Bezirk.

HOMANN MEETS BRAZILIAN, NICARAGUAN PRESIDENTS

LD181216 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0946 GMT 18 Mar 85

[Text] Brasilia, 18 Mar (ADN) -- On Sunday, 17 March, Jose Sarney, the acting president of Brazil received a GDR delegation led by Professor Dr Heinrich Homann, deputy chairman of the Council of State, which is currently paying a visit to Brasilia, for an official talk. Prof Homann gave him a message from Erich Honecker.

An exchange of opinions on the foreign policy of the two countries revealed that on questions such as securing peace, particularly ending the arms race and solving conflicts by political means, both sides hold almost identical positions. The partners in the talk announced their mutual interest in developing bilateral relations.

On the previous day, the GDR delegation met with Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega. In the course of the meeting, the Nicaraguan head of state explained his country's new proposals to reduce tension in the serious situation in Central America. Prof Homann affirmed the right of the Nicaraguan people to continue along the path of national and democratic renewal which it has chosen for itself.

FDJ, WORLD YOUTH BODY HOLD TALKS IN BERLIN

LD152236 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1457 GMT 15 Mar 85

[Text] Berlin, 15 Mar (ADN) -- A delegation of the International Union of Socialist Youth (IUSY) was in the GDR 12-15 March at the invitation of the FDJ Central Council. The delegation was led by ISUY General Secretary Robert Kredig, and included the chairmen of member associations from the FRG, Ulf Skirke and Werner Kindsmueller, Matti Tukiainen from Finland, Alfred Gusenbauer from Austria, representatives of young socialists in the Netherlands, Martin Grone, and Sweden, Lief Jacobson, and of the Sandinist Youth of 19 July of Nicaragua, Aquiles Morales.

The visit by the IUSY delegation was to promote an exchange of views with the FDJ about the contribution of youth associations of differing political and ideological orientation toward preserving peace and preventing a nuclear catastrophe.

There was agreement that for young people there is no more important task than averting the danger of a nuclear war and the destruction of mankind. The IUSY paid tribute to the attitude of the FDJ which, in agreement with the GDR party and state leadership, does everything to ensure that war never again emanates from German soil. A joint press statement goes on to say: Both sides agreed that the inviolability of borders and the respecting of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of states are the fundamental preconditions for the maintenance of peace in Europe and the world. Plans for the development of space weapons, conducting limited nuclear wars and star wars are aimed at a change in the existing approximate international balance of military forces and for this reason endanger world peace.

The FDJ and the IUSY are in favor of an immediate stop to the stationing of nuclear medium-range and short-range missiles and of their immediate dismantling in Europe. In their talks both delegations supported the use of space for exclusively peaceful purposes. It is urgently necessary to achieve tangible results at the talks in Stockholm, Vienna, and Geneva, in constructive dialogue between all sides taking part.

The FDJ and the IUSY support the demand that all powers in possession of nuclear weapons commit themselves not to be the first to use nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction. Both organisations support the Palme proposal for setting up a nuclear weapon-free zone in central Europe. The IUSY welcomes the GDR's positive reaction to this initiative. The partners in the talks, it is stressed, support a complete and effective ban on chemical, bacteriological, and conventional weapons of mass destruction.

The FDJ and the IUSY exchanged views about preparations for the 12th world Youth Games in Moscow this summer. This important event involving the world youth movement in the International Year of Youth is taking place in a country that has made its contribution to the liberation of the peoples from fascism on a decisive front in the anti-Hitler coalition. May 8th, the day of victory over Hitler fascism, is for democratic youth in all parts of the world an occasion to draw lessons from World War II and to unite even more closely in the struggle against militarism and war, for peace and disarmament, for social progress and mutually beneficial cooperation between states with different social orders, the statement says.

The 12th World Youth Games under the slogan "For antiimperialist solidarity, peace, and friendship" could be an important contribution to the mobilization of the young generation of the eighties for the preservation of world peace, national independence, and social progress.

Particularly in view of the tense international situation and the need for further consolidation of mutual understanding and trust and also increased joint activity by young people in the world, the FDJ and the IUSY condemned all attempts to divide the international youth movement. They therefore opposed the setting up of and participation in an event serving this purpose in Jamaica.

The significance of all-European cooperation of youth and students was stressed. The FDJ and the IUSY agreed to further develop their political contacts.

FDGB'S TISCH, TRADE UNIONISTS DISCUSS DISARMAMENT

LD192224 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1721 GMT 19 Mar 85

[Text] Berlin, 19 Mar (ADN) -- The struggle for the preservation of peace, for an end to the arms race, and for disarmament and detente is the most pressing task of the present. This was stated in agreement in a talk today in Berlin between Harry Tisch, chariman of the FDGB National Executive Committee, and participants in the meeting of the Bureau of the International Trade Union of Textile, Clothing, Leather, and Fur Workers in the WFTU. The meeting began today.

It is necessary to unite all forces of goodwill in order to avert the danger of a nuclear inferno. The interlocutors welcomed the start of the Soviet-American talks in Geneva as a first step which could lead to the relaxation of international tensions, an end to the arms race on earth, and the prevention of space militarization. The resources released by an end to the arms race could be used to solve numerous economic and social problems and to improve the working and living conditions of people on all continents, it was stressed.

FISCHER ARRIVES IN MOSCOW FOR TALKS 19 MARCH

For reports and comment on the visit to the Soviet Union by Oskar Fischer, GDR Foreign Minister and SED Central Committee member, see the Eastern Europe section of the 20 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

TEXT SARLOS ON NEED FOR REALISM, ECONOMIC INNOVATION

AU150631 East Berlin EINHEIT in German No 3/1985 pp 258-265

[Article by Istvan Sarlos, MSZMP Central Committee Politburo member and president of the National Assembly of the Hungarian People's Republic: "40 Years of Free Hungary"]

[Text] Anniversaries are always an occasion to remember, to think over the path taken and to establish the lessons learned. There are events that mean a change of fortune in the life and history of individual peoples, but there are also events that at the same time have national and international effects and are important in other contexts. The 40th anniversary of the liberation of Hungary is undoubtedly among the latter events, as it has a place in the events that changed the appearance of Europe and the entire world.

The antifascist coalition, within which the Soviet Union carried the main burden of the war and made the greatest sacrifices, as well as the developing national resistance against fascism are examples of the fact that in a situation in which the future of the whole of mankind is endangered, the union of countries of diverse social order, of the most diverse political forces, and men of diverse ideologies is not only possible, but also necessary due to concurrent fundamental interests. By contrast, the deliberate dissolution of the antifascist coalition and the cold war against the countries that decided in favor of the people's democratic path of development did not bring results. Intensive armament, political and military pressure, and economic embargoes have inflicted great damage upon the peoples of all countries, regardless of social order, but have not succeeded in halting the process of social progress.

In Hungary, liberated by the Soviet Army, a people's movement developed that not only aimed to rebuild the destroyed country, but to create a new power, a democratic reshaping long desired by the people's masses. A coalition government was formed in which, apart from the two workers parties, parties and organizations were represented that, though to a different degree, had resisted fascism and Hitler's war of aggression. The Hungarian Communist Party was the leading force of the National Independence Front that comprised the democratic parties and which, based on the program of the Communists and supported by the democratic forces, created the new Hungarian state. The new government declared war on fascist Germany, abolished fascist organizations in the country, set up a new Hungarian democratic army, and called war criminals to account.

The most important measure of the new state's power was a radical land reform that abolished once and for all the large estate system linked with financial capital and gave land to over 600,000 families who had no property or who owned only very small plots. Thus, a fundamental change took place in the power, production, and class conditions of our society. The land commissions and enterprise committees played a big role as new people's organizations in the revolutionary changes. Even under capitalist conditions these enterprise committees controlled production and distribution "from beneath," so to speak.

The cold war began after the infamous aggressive speech by Churchill in Fulton, and in Hungary also the masters and beneficiaries of the old regime started the counterattack. In this phase of aggravated class struggle, the third congress of the Hungarian Communist Party proclaimed the slogan in September 1946: "We are reconstructing the country for the people and not for the capitalists!" On the basis of this program the revolutionary process accelerated: In 1947 the representatives of the bourgeoisie, the big banks, and the industrial enterprises belonging to them were driven out of power and -- in 1948 -- all industrial enterprises with over 100 employees were nationalized.

LAST LINE

The union of the Communist and the Social Democratic Parties in the summer of 1948 comprised the final chapter of the revolutionary period of 1944-1948. In a relatively peaceful way, through people's democracy, the dictatorship of the proletariat developed and the construction of socialism could be started.

In the first years of socialist construction, masses of workers and peasants obtained positions in the organs of power. Comprehensive industrialization took place and by 1956 factory production had tripled compared with 1938. In the rural areas the cooperative movement started and the mechanization of agriculture was begun. Unemployment was eliminated. The universities opened their doors to the sons and daughters of the working peoples. A cultural revolution began.

However, some of the grand aims could not become reality. Development was burdened by serious mistakes, distortions, and violations of law. Intolerant voluntarism, sectarianism, and dogmatism were to blame for this. The result was an economic policy with great disproportions between light and heavy industry as well as between heavy industry as well as between heavy industry and agriculture and the living standards of the masses dropped temporarily. Because administrative methods and illegalities prevailed, the trust placed in the political leadership began to waver. Two groups emerged in the party: In addition to the sectarian group, a revisionist group also gradually began to increase in importance. Their unprincipled struggle made it possible for internal and external forces unwilling to accept the socialist development of Hungary to begin a counterattack. In this they were motivated by certain -- mainly U.S. -- imperialist circles.

Thus, on 23 October 1956 a counterrevolutionary uprising broke out and the cause of socialism in Hungary was in serious danger. In this threatening situation, the new party leadership and the revolutionary worker-peasant government were formed under the leadership of Janos Kadar which -- based on the aid of the Soviet Union and the domestic revolutionary forces -- began to smash the counterrevolutionary uprising militarily and politically and restore the people's power.

The personality cult period and the struggles of the group that resulted in the counterrevolution caused the party, which was reorganizing itself, to draw fundamental concousions. And the conclusions of the MSZMP have indeed proved to be correct. Returning to Leninist principles and norms, it worked out a new policy, new working methods, and a new working style and implemented them in the process of a militant advance. The political course that has been confirmed since then at a number of party congresses has remained unchanged until today in the dialectic spirit of continuity and renewal. The elements of this course have always been adapted by the party to the constantly changing reality. The corresponding renewal, however, was based on unchanged, fundamental principles.

The reorganized party clearly distanced itself from the distortions, mistakes, and violations of law in the personality cult period, and also from opportunistic-revisionist efforts and betrayal. It committed itself to the heritage of the party, to continuity in the revolutionary workers movement. At the same time, the party waged a struggle on two fronts: against sectarian-dogmatic phenomena on the one side, and against revisionist phenomena on the other. The party allowed no splinter groups; and in open discussions, faithful to the principles, it elaborated and defended the standpoint that led to the goal. It restored democratic centralism and again implemented the Leninist practice of collective leadership, criticism, and self-criticism.

All of this happened not as a goal in itself, but in order to implement the leading role of the party. In the past 28 years the party has unequivocally stated several times that it is the party of the ruling workers class; however, it itself does not rule, but serves its class and its people. The party's leading role lies in political leadership.

It is only able to implement its leading role when the masses follow it voluntarily and out of conviction, and when it pursues a policy that the masses understand and with which they agree -- a policy that takes into account the interests of the workers class and all the people. The party implements its leading role not through commanding, but through convincing, through the unity of its words and deeds as well as through the clearly tangible results of its policy.

At the same time, awareness of the fact that the leading role of the party is consolidated in proportion to the breadth and firmness of its alliance with the workers class and in proportion to its closeness to their mass community spirit resulted in the renewal of the alliance policy. The party declared and also implemented the idea that -- with the exclusion of party functions -- any leadership function in the country can also be implemented by nonparty members. Confidence, understanding, tolerance, and the desire to understand -- these were the directives of the party in shaping relations with all levels of society.

The party represents the view of freedom of conscience and respects any intellectual conviction not in active opposition to our social order. Despite ideological differences, the churches have also accepted our socialist social order. It thus became possible for the faithful to cooperate with unbelievers in building socialism without any conflict of conscience. We respect religious feelings while propagating our Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The increasing unity of the classes and social strata and of their interests, living conditions, convictions, and efforts -- something which, of course, is not without contradictions -- promotes that process in the course of which socialist national unity developed under the leadership of the workers class and its party. This strengthens the power of the workers class based on the alliance of the workers class with the peasants and rests, in fact, on the democratic power of the entire people. This power is consolidated by the fact that in our country socialist legality is reality. In general, the following principle applies: He who respects the law will be defended by the law, while he who violates the law must be punished. No one can evade -- under any pretext whatsoever -- the effects of our laws.

Two of what are probably the most typical, most closely interrelated elements of the general line of our party, which is only outlined here, are the creative application of Marxism-Leninism and respect for reality. Since 1956, the MSZMP has been aiming at developing its policy in such a way that it proceeds not from desires, but from realities, from the tasks set by life; that it analyzes the concrete real situation in determining new tasks; and that it takes into account real interests and possibilities in its efforts to reshape reality. Our party opposes any subjectivity and voluntarism -- although it highly values the role of subjective factors. It aims at determining its steps in accordance with reality and at taking into consideration material and human, external and internal conditions, and the expected consequences. In analyzing reality our party bases itself on scientific foundations, on knowledge of the social legalities, and on the theory of Marxism-Leninism, which it applies in accordance with realities, that is to say, not literally, but creatively as a means for determining and implementing the goal.

The four most important aspects and achievements of this general line are mentioned here.

First: The strengthening of the workers power after 1956. This took place relatively quickly, particularly because of the outlined policy and methods of the party. This had far-reaching, lasting results. Up until now our party has been the beneficiary of the "capital of confidence" it achieved at that time due to its authority, tolerance, humanism and loyalty to principles and which it further increased in the subsequent period.

Second: The socialist reshaping of agriculture. Our party has successfully fulfilled this historically important task by correspondingly adapting Leninist principles -- voluntarism, gradualism, and state support -- to Hungarian conditions. On the basis of a correct analysis it selected its timing accordingly and waged the struggle in two directions -- against efforts to delay collectivization and against efforts to accelerate it by impoverishing the peasants. It rejected any force and any haste and applied persuasive methods. In this way it was possible to avoid decreasing agricultural production while creating large-scale agricultural enterprises. Due to collectivization, the socialist production and property conditions in our country became the dominant features. The good production results of Hungarian agriculture achieved since then are well known. But collectivization has also achieved many other things: well-to-do villages and villagers, cooperative democracy, a new settlement policy, and useful experiences in organizing and managing the economy.

Third: The new economic management system, begun in 1968, which aimed at linking the socialist planned economy and the goods-money relations. [as received] Its elaboration is a good example of the far-reaching cooperation between technical sciences and Marxism and also politics. The methods applied then have been utilized in the work of the party to this day: A large number of scientists and experts carry out research work to obtain new findings about the real situation and work out proposals and alternatives for the problems that must be solved. However, the political organs make the decisions. And although introduction of the new economic management system took place only in a careful, experimental way, and sometimes even arrived at a standstill or got on the wrong track, production efficiency could be increased, the quality of economic management could be improved, and an economic way of thinking prevailed. In addition to this, the reform has also promoted theoretical research work in other fields, has developed public life in a more vivid way, and has increased the independence of local organs.

Fourth: The development process of socialist democracy. Numerous steps have been taken since the early seventies: the democratic transformation of the election system, increased independence for local people's representations, modernization of the bureaucracy, and so forth. The activity of the mass organizations, first and foremost the trade unions, was activated in keeping with their specific profile, and the patriotic people's front became an important factor in public life. The increase in discussion also evidences the expansion of socialist democracy. Our party considers this to be unambiguously positive, even though individual discussions sometimes lead off the main track and even if here and there some insufficiently considered or even extremist views are heard or the style of discussion cannot be accepted. We are not concerned with restricting discussion but seek out polemics with wrong positions and viewpoints that deviate from Marxism or run counter to it. While intensifying the struggle against harmful ideological influences and strengthening the necessary polemics in the discussion of open issues, we consider it important to consider all those arguments that are loyal to socialism and to the country, because conflicting views frequently produce progressive syntheses which lead to a consensus that can serve as a basis for action.

Our national economy suffered tangible losses in the seventies as a result of a deterioration of the terms of trade. We have gone through difficult years and are still far from breathing freely. The increasingly complicated economic situation made difficult, on the one hand, the shift to intensive economic management, the import of raw materials and power, and selling our products. On the other hand, it was precisely this situation that prompted intensification because it was unambiguously confirmed that a lasting upswing can only be achieved through an improvement of the production and product structure, through higher efficiency and better quality. But this restructuring proceeded only painfully and slowly.

Whereas investments and the standard of living did not decrease, indebtedness rose as a result of the loans needed to make up for the unearned portion of the national income.

Five years ago the national economic conditions made it necessary to reduce economic growth and cut investments. Instead of further enhancing the overall living standard it was important to only improve certain living conditions. Preserving the country's solvency and restoring the internal and external equilibrium of the economy were declared the main target. The measures initiated under the pressure of the situation which had developed were successful: The basic objectives of the economic program were achieved, we preserved our solvency, and we have somewhat reduced our indebtedness. Even though real wages have decreased, real incomes rose slightly as a result of all-social payments and it was possible to maintain living standards within the overall societal framework. Last year the increase in national income exceeded the plan: Industrial output rose some 2.5-3 percent instead of the planned 1.5-2 percent. Agriculture scored record yields of grain (15 million tons) and more agricultural and foodstuff products were exported than ever, without any cuts in popular consumption.

To a considerable extent, all this was also due to the party's stance on further development of the economic management system, on the basis of which effective measures were taken. The importance of monetary and credit policy in economic management increased and the banking system is gaining increasing importance. Enterprises are becoming economically and organizationally independent, and new forms of enterprise management are evolving. In addition to the predominant share of big- and medium-sized enterprises, the number of small enterprises and cooperatives is also increasing. The socialist sector (state and cooperative enterprises) holds the decisive share, but aside from th[illegible] we also leave a certain scope for small trade and crafts which predominantly supply services to the populace. An entire series of measures were taken to regulate the investment system and develop the price and income system and, in doing so, material incentives for the working people were also enhanced.

New tasks are developing in production for the party organizations as a result of the party decisions to further develop the economic management system and as a result of the government decisions for their implementation. Now the party organizations must ensure the coordination of interests by far better political work -- while constantly observing the national economic interests -- and, by convincing and mobilizing the working people, must seek to achieve optimal economic results.

We do not regard the management system as a cure-all and above all not as a model. We do not regard the development of market relations as something that stands against socialism. But, at the same time, our party resolutely rejects those views that recommend an unrestricted market economy.

Many contradictions still lead to tensions in our socialist system. Not all of them, however, hamper development; many of them are tensions and contradictions that have a propelling effect, and without these, development would even come to a standstill. Such a contradiction exists, for example, between distribution according to performance and according to social equality, between central mamangement and local independence, and so forth. There are also undesirable phenomena and sideeffects which slow down development, and against which we also struggle with administrative means (income not acquired by work, disproportionately high salaries, bureaucratism, speculation, price hiking, and so forth). The right solution to such problems, however, is not possible without a wide range of goods and a relative balance between supply and demand.

We do have plenty of worries and problems, but our social system is consolidated, the internal political situation of the country is well-balanced, and we are working to build our socialist society.

The 13th MSZMP Congress will present to our people a program that is capable of opening up new sources of energy for socialist construction and of showing a way out of the country's present difficult situation. Let me mention here the two most important things.

The first is the economic program. Based on the results of the past 5 years, based on the fraternal countries of the community of socialist states, and based on the strength of CEMA, there are prospects for a moderate economic upswing in the coming years. Through vigorous and diverse development of intensive management and through tapping the reserves existing in the economy, economic growth is to be achieved -- this is what the party has set as a goal -- that permits a further improvement of the equilibrium, a gradual selective renewal of the material-technical basis of the national economy, and an increase in prosperity. The Seventh 5-Year Plan is to become a program of well-founded economic growth and development. The foundations for substantially raising living standards are to be created through better economic management, through raising performances, and through improving work discipline.

The other is the program for further developing the administration and the people's representation system. Now, after the abolition of counties, the administration is functioning on two levels, whereby -- together with numerous changes in economic management -- the individual responsibility of people's representation organs in the villages and towns is to be increased. The new election system for parliamentary and local people's assembly deputies, as well as expansion of the powers of the people's representation organs, are also aimed at expanding this responsibility, at modernizing the system of political institutions, and at strengthening democracy.

Through our country's liberation 40 years ago and through the transformations in neighboring nations, favorable international conditions were created for Hungary's working people to build the country at long last for themselves. The establishment of socialist social conditions at the same time made our country part of that alliance system, of that community, which today represents the front-rank of human progress. In the close and unbreakable alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist fraternal countries lies the most important international support for our independent and safe existence and for our economic and social development.

On the strength of its existing conditions, Hungary even today belongs to those small countries developing under cosmopolitan conditions for whom the influence exerted by surroundings is far greater than the influence they can exert on world politics. However, it is our fundamental interest that our country participate, in line with its possibilities, in the endeavors being undertaken to reverse the dangerous international processes.

It is hardly an exaggeration to say that today mankind is threatened by far greater dangers than ever before. In the truest sense of the word the existence of mankind and civilization is at stake. The endeavors of the extremist circles of imperialism -- especially of U.S. monopoly capital -- to destroy the military equilibrium have exacerbated the military and political confrontation of the two world systems and are leading to an acceleration and intensification of the arms race, the consequences of which are hardly foreseeable.

The dangerous situation has also challenged Hungary's foreign policy to display increased activity. Our country supports the Soviet proposals to guarantee the military equilibrium at the lowest possible level. Within the Warsaw Pact organization our country is making its contribution to the common defense efforts, to working out the initiatives and proposals for curbing the arms race and promoting mutual confidence, to advocating implementation, at international forums and within the framework of bilateral relations, of these initiatives and proposals. We are also participating in the work of the Stockholm conference in the spirit of the concerted foreign policy line of the socialist countries.

We regard the European cultural forum, which will be held in our country's capital in the fall of 1985, as an event of great importance. As host and participant we will likewise endeavor to ensure that this event succeeds in making a sound contribution to strengthening mutual understanding and confidence between the peoples of the continent through promoting and spreading culture, and through cultural exchange.

We are convinced that one can and must break out of the vicious circle of the arms race and growing distrust. To create the atmosphere necessary for actual negotiations it is absolutely essential that there be regular contacts between the countries of the two military alliances confronting one another, between the countries with different social systems altogether, and that positions be clarified and a dialogue held to ensure better mutual understanding of each other's positions. Like other European socialist countries, the Hungarian People's Republic has shown great activity lately to keep this process going and to counterbalance the endeavors that lead to cold war.

Our people, who are working to build socialism, are fundamentally interested in the successful resolution by our allies, the fraternal socialist peoples, of the tasks of their own socialist construction work. We believe it absolutely essential to also make an effective contribution to attaining common objectives and accelerating development of the various socialist countries by expanding bilateral and multilateral relations, by deepening socialist integration and forms of cooperation, and by modernizing methods.

It is a historical fact that the Hungarian revolutionary workers movement developed into a society-creating force to a considerable extent under the influences of the German workers movement. However, only during the building of socialism did cooperation which serves the true cause, the well-being of both peoples and the interests of human progress, develop between our countries. Today the GDR is the second most important socialist economic partner of our country. Our development proceeds on the basis of the generally valid natural laws of socialism. In addition to the substantial equality of our methods of resolving problems, there is a diversity of forms, and this merely underscores how important it is to acquaint oneself with the other's experiences.

Under the conditions of socialism, moreover, the century-old relations between Hungarian and German science, eduation, and culture have gained new contents and acquired broader dimensions than ever before. Cooperation in this field is a good supplement to political and economic relations. Together with growing tourism, it contributes to increasing our peoples' mutual acquaintance with each other's successes and problems, and to making our friendship still closer.

Our socialist construction work depends to a substantial degree on the development of international conditions. Even in the face of the existing dangers we are optimistic, however. In addition to the strength and the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the attitude of the nonaligned states and the people's desire for peace, which is manifesting itself more and more resolutely, we are also taking into account the fact that an important segment of the leading circles of the capitalist world is also interested in peaceful relations between countries with different social systems. We are confident that as a result of all this the system of agreements and institutions, which developed in the course of detente, will also be preserved in the future and that past results can be even further developed.

As much as possible, the Hungarian People's Republic -- through successfully building a socialist society as well as through its consistent and resourceful foreign policy -- will also continue in the future to promote favorable international processes and to act for the benefit of the cause of peace and socialism.

GORBACHEV STRESSES CONTINUITY, REALISM, OPENNESS

AU191020 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 Mar 85 p 3

[Article by Moscow correspondent Istvan Zalai: "Continuity and Dynamism"]

[Text] The attention of the world has been on Moscow this week. The world shared the deep mourning of the Soviet people and expressed its condolences over the painful loss suffered by the Soviet Union, but at the same time it looked forward. The world looked for answers on questions such as to what extent there will still be continuity in Soviet policy, where changes can be expected, and what direction the CPSU and Soviet Union will take?

No one can be indifferent concerning the answers because we are talking about a communist party and a great socialist power that bears a particular responsibility for social progress, peace, and the future of mankind, and whose strategy and political practice have a determining influence on the development of world affairs. The extent to which this is true was well reflected on the one hand by the large number of foreign politicians that attended the funeral (some 150 countries, parties, national liberation movements, and international organizations were represented), and, on the other, by the diversity of the politicians who attended. Paying final respects to the deceased Soviet leader, they were looking for opportunities to become informed and also get acquainted, and this effort on their part also showed that there is no genuine international issue (either comprehensive or connected to certain regions) that can be solved without the Soviet Union and in which Moscow's word would not count. The firm and quick action in the first hours of mourning, and the unanimous decision of the extraordinary plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on the election of Mikhail Gorbachev reflected the extent to which they are aware here of this responsibility.

Unchanged Strategy

The officials returning from the Soviet capital and all those whose job is to draw conclusions from the speeches and declarations heard can characterize the change thus: continuity and dynamism.

What does this mean? It means, first of all, the continuation of the collectively shaped policy and its resolute and consistent implementation. Mikhail Gorbachev, praising the merits of his predecessor, stressed precisely the fact that Konstantin Chernenko safeguarded with all his power the party's unity and the collective nature of the activity of the leading organs, and saw in the harmony between the communists' words and deeds the guarantee of gradual progress, the source of successes, and the way to overcome mistakes. And it is not accidental that the new general secretary asked for the support of the members of these organs, their active help, and their multifaceted historical experience in the course of carrying out the complex and great responsibilities inherent in his position. Of course, no one can doubt the contribution of personality to the shaping and assertion of this collective policy; the way of thinking, the style are playing an equal role. In presenting 54-year-old Mikhail Gorbachev as secretary general, the officially published biography praised his readiness for initiatives, his energetic working rhythm, his political experience, and his organizational ability, and all those who met him during these days stressed his calm manner, his thoughtfulness, and his openness.

The general secretary's speeches at the extraordinary plenum and at the funeral can also be interpreted as some sort of program, whose conclusion of key importance is that the strategic line worked out at the 26th congress and the subsequent plenums -- with the active participation of Yuriy Andropov and Konstantin Chernenko -- has been and remains unchanged.

The aim of this strategy is to accelerate the country's socioeconomic development and to advance in all the areas of social life. We are talking about a complex and large-scale range of tasks: the material-technical reorganization of production, modernization of the structure of social relations, mainly of economic relations, shaping the way of thinking of the people, and the qualitative improvement of living conditions.

"The times require creative and hard work," said Mikhail Gorbachev in the same spirit that has been increasingly spreading in the last years. The Soviet party carried out comprehensive and active work in the recent years. The consecutive plenums enriched both the theory and the practice. Among these, Mikhail Gorbachev especially pointed out the meeting held in November 1982 and linked to the name of Yuriy Andropov, a meeting that represented the source of a more realistic view and a suitable policy. This gave practical possibilities of halting the recognized unfavorable tendencies and starting the implementation of favorable changes. The period that has passed since then and which was viewed in its entirety by Gorbachev confirmed that the Soviet Union is at the beginning of the historically long period of developed socialism, and by solving the tasks of this period, the Soviet Union will approach the construction of communism. This formulation permits a clearer picture of the map of social development with its complexity, contradictions, and diversity, and the conclusions drawn from this will contribute to the unity of words and deeds and to elimination of the contradiction between realistic possibilities and unfounded predictions.

Looking Beyond the Turn of the Century

Strengthening the continuity of strategy is of great importance because the CPSU has entered a particularly important phase of its life. Preparations for the 27th party congress have been accelerated, and it will be the task of the supreme forum of the party to discuss and approve the newly formulated party program as well as the plans for economic and social development. We are talking here about concepts pointing beyond the turn of the century, concepts whose main trends were clearly reflected by the general secretary's analysis. There is a need for a decisive turn, the economy must be placed on the path of intensive development, and the most modern technical-scientific level and the highest world levels of labor productivity must be achieved in a short time.

This number one task has already been stressed in the past period. Now, Gorbachev has found that in order to achieve a successful solution more rapidly it is necessary to create economic conditions promoting efficient work, and that the entire management system and the mechanism of the economy must continue to be steadily developed. There is a need for optimal decisions that take the realities into consideration, and all this by making creative use of the basic principles of socialist economy, by systematic development, and by increasing the enterprises' independence and sphere of authority and their interest in performance.

This is closely related to socialist democracy, to further development of the entire structure of socialist people's self-management; and in this area, in spite of the considerable work done, there is still a need for serious efforts also in new directions. There is a need to increasingly include the people in solving greater or smaller problems and in the struggle against mistakes. This requires greater publicity about the party, council, and government activity because, to quote Mikhail Gorbachev, "the more informed the people are, the more consciously they perform and the more actively they support the party and its plans and goals". This is in harmony also with the fact that they wish to take firm measures in the future, too, to strengthen labor, government, and party discipline, strengthen socialist legality, and eliminate phenomena alien to Soviet society.

Those people who prove their honest contribution to the cause of society not with words but with deeds and practical results can count on support and encouragement. An even more consistent assertion of the principle of socialist justice, filling it with an even deeper content, requires adequate encouragement and appreciation of a job well-done.

The practical solution of these tasks is not easy, it requires organization and resoluteness and it demands a break with formalism. This is why General Secretary Gorbachev promised to take up the struggle against empty formalities, empty talk, and boasting and irresponsibility, pointing out in particular the responsibility of Communists, the party cadres, and the party and state leaders; the increase in the demands confronting them; and strict adherence to the Leninist work style. Gorbachev also gave a concrete example: Turning to the participants in the Central Committee, he called upon them to catch up after falling behind because of the harsh winter, to make good the shortcomings, and to mobilize resources.

The continuity of a well-considered, successful policy jives with the requirement of a dynamic implementation as continuity does not mean marching in place; on the contrary, it requires continuous advancement.

Consistent Peace Policy

It can hardly be a matter of indifference under what external conditions the current and future major goals are implemented. They have been formulated in a clear-cut way: Soviet foreign policy is consistent and clear; it is the policy of peace and progress.

The basic elements of this policy were given practical confirmation when the Soviet leaders found an opportunity to exchange views with a large number of the political leaders arriving in Moscow. This has been a particularly intensive series of talks. Mikhail Gorbachev alone held talks with more than 25 foreign political leaders in 2 days. First, he met with the heads of delegations of the Warsaw Pact member-countries in the spirit declared at the Central Committee meeting: "It is the first priority task of the CPSU and the Soviet state to defend and multilaterally strengthen the fraternal friendship with our closest comrades-in-arms and allies, the members of the large community of socialist countries." The starting point is precisely the fact that the unity of the countries of the socialist community and the increase of their strength a e reliably serving the cause of social progress and the cause of peace. The identity of ideals and goals supplies the basis for multilateral cooperation, the further development of which is a common decision.

In the brief communique published, the world was given an analysis of the situation: The Warsaw Pact member countries consider the international circumstances complex, and under these conditions, strengthening their unity and the synchronization of their international activity are of particular importance. They have also pointed out at the same time that, consistently and in a constructive spirit, they are striving to reduce tensions, avoid nuclear danger, and achieve genuine steps for disarmament.

The Soviet leaders also met with many other socialist countries' politicians and it could not be ignored that, analyzing the increase in the worldwide role of socialism, they said that they would seriously like to improve their relations with China and, in case of mutuality, they considered this completely possible. This is also stressed by the fact that the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee received the head of the Chinese delegation.

For Agreements With Equal Rights

Starting from this position, the general secretary of the CPSU confirmed that Moscow is well-aware of the nuclear danger threatening mankind and wishes to do everything in order to safeguard peace.

It is increasing its efforts, and wishes to make use of every possibility. It firmly wishes to continue the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence and will respond to good intentions with good intentions and to trust with trust. Of course, Moscow does not wish to abandon its interests and the interests of its allies in the future, and it will maintain its defensive strength at a level that provides adequate security in the complex international situation. At the same time, it sees a single rational way out of the current situation: honest and equal agreements to halt the nuclear arms race and avoid the militarization of space.

The general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee cited examples from the not-so-distant past to illustrate the possibility of peaceful, mutually favorable equal cooperation among countries with different social systems. He recalled the detente of the seventies and mentioned that we could celebrate the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism with new steps taken in this direction. It was easy for the discussion partners -- regardless of whether they were from Paris, London, Bonn or Washington -- to see that Moscow is ready for this.

It is worth pointing out Comrade Gorbachev's meeting with U.S. Vice President Bush, considering the great importance of Soviet-U.S. relations. The U.S. vice president, who brought President Reagan's letter, said on his departure from the Soviet capital that "in spite of the great problems and divergences of opinion, the time has come for progress." Whether this will really be so depends completely on Washington. Moscow has confirmed with new dynamism that it wishes a halt and not a continuation of the arms race, an efficient and considerable reduction of arms, and not the creation of new space or ground arms systems. It wants agreements with equal rights and not unilateral advantages at the Geneva talks. At the same time, it proposes a freeze on nuclear arms and an end to the further development of missiles. "We want our discussion partners to understand the position of the Soviet Union and respond with similar efforts," Mikhail Gorbachev said. This way an agreement will be possible and the peoples of the world will be able to heave a sign of relief.

FUNCTION, NECESSITY OF WARSAW PACT DISCUSSED

AU151326 Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian No 10, 10 Mar 85 p 5

[Ferenc Varnai article; "File: Warsaw Pact, Principled Agreement; Suggestions to NATO; The Smallest Common Denominator"]

[Text] The validity of the Warsaw Pact expires on 4 June. It was signed in Warsaw on 14 May 1955 by the heads of government of Albania, Bulgaria, the CSSR, Poland, Hungary, the GDR, Romania, and the Soviet Union, and was established for 20 years. Because none of the signatory members expressed their wish to withdraw from the Pact during the year preceding its date of expiration, it was automatically extended by 10 years. (The date is 4 June 1985 and not 14 May, because the documents ratified by the member-states only became valid after they were deposited with the PPR Government. And because the government of the Albanian People's Republic -- which in 1968 unilaterally withdrew from the alliance -- was the last government to ratify the document on 4 June 1955, the treaty remains in force until 4 June 1985).

The main function of the alliance was originally a defensive-military one, but since then a very big role has been given to permanent coordination of the foreign political activities of the member-states.

Simultaneous Dissolution

In April 1949, the Western powers had already established NATO, which at that time 12 capitalist countries joined. In 1952 Greece and Turkey were also made members of the military bloc.

Then, on 23 October 1954, agreements were signed in Paris to establish the Armed Forces of the FRG and to introduce the FRG into the military pact. In December 1954, a session of the NATO Council also decided to supply the armed forces of the bloc with nuclear arms.

The Soviet Union had invited all European governments as well as the United States Government to a conference in Moscow on 29-30 November 1954 on a mutual guarantee of European peace and security. However, the capitalist countries did not attend the conference. The socialist countries were therefore compelled, for the sake of their own security, to counterpose forces against NATO.

The class character, aims, and tasks of the pact for friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance, which was signed by the premiers of eight European socialist countries, are profoundly different from those of NATO and those of other similar military and political groups: This organization has an explicitly defensive nature; it does not strive for military superiority. The charter stated: The Warsaw Pact will expire the day an agreement establishing a collective European defense system goes into force. The Warsaw Pact member-states still hold as valid their statements in relation to a simultaneous or gradual (first military, and then political bodies) dissolution of the two military alliances. The political leading body of the alliance made a suggestion at its 24 May 1958 Moscow session -- this suggestion has been repeated several times since, but unfortunately without any result so far -- that the member-states of the Warsaw Pact and NATO enter into a non-aggression treaty.

The pact member-states, regardless of their size, or the differing strengths of their armed forces, coordinate their views as equal partners and work out their mutual standpoints, based on arguments, in genuine discussions. There is no striving, either in political, or in leading military organs, for an establishment of "supra-national" bodies or headquarters. The decisions of any leading body have authority only over those member-states that agreed to the decisions. The basis of unity is not a majority "vote" or "command" by any members of the leading body, but the uniformity of interests and views.

To institutionalize the Warsaw Pact, the charter set up two organs -- the Political Consultative Committee and the Joint Command.

The Political Consultative Committee is the Warsaw Pact's principal collective organ and thus coordinates on a supreme level the foreign policy and defense activities of the member-states. Its sessions are held successively in the members' capitals according to the Russian alphabet and are chaired by the delegate of the organizing state. The organ held its first meeting of the premiers and foreign and defense ministers in Prague on 28 January 1956.

(Starting with the second session held in Moscow on 24 May 1958, the delegations were led by the first secretaries of the fraternal parties.) The Political Consultative Committee has analyzed the world situation 20 times so far and put forward several suggestions, which also served as a basis for many international agreements, referring to strengthening peace and aiming at disarmament treaties.

The charter of the pact also stated: The Political Consultative Committee may establish auxiliary organs as well. Based on this, a well-developed system of foreign and military policy coordination was created.

Auxiliary Organs

The Political Consultative Committee decided at the 17 March 1969 Budapest session to establish the Defense Ministers Committee. Since the first 22-23 December 1969 Moscow session, this committee has convened a total of 17 times, meeting in the country of the next-in-turn minister and chairman.

The committee's purpose is to draft coordinated suggestions to improve the Joint Armed Forces and to increase their combat readiness, to prepare issues for the agendas at the Political Consultative Committee's sessions, and to put forward suitable recommendations to the member states' governments. The committee is comprised of the defense ministers of the member-states and the commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces.

The Political Consultative Committee decided at the 25-26 November 1976 Bucharest session to establish the Committee of Foreign Ministers, which first convened on 27 May 1977 and has met a total of 10 times since then. The sessions, with the host as chairman, are held on an alternate basis in the member-states at least twice each year. The committee's duty is to coordinate more regularly and efficiently the foreign policy activities of the member-states, come up with proposals to the member-governments, and prepare suggestions for the Political Consultative Committee sessions.

The Joint Secretariat also has its operational headquarters in Moscow.

The Joint Command operates on principles established on a mutual basis, and directs the armed forces under its command. The member-states' governments determine -- in harmony with the synchronized plans -- the size, weapons, and development of combat techniques of these forces. (The Soviet Union is an intercontinental great power whose Armed Forces undertake responsibilities in the case of a war against aggression not only in Europe but also on other continents. Thus, not all types of military forces, but only a part of the armed forces belong to the joint effective force.) The national troops designated as part of joint effective force are subordinate to their own governments' ministries of defense and their activity is ruled by the laws of the member-states and the particular country's valid military regulations. Therefore, the troops designated to be part of the Joint Armed Forces continue to be subordinated to their national commandant, contrary to the NATO practice.

Because the Warsaw Pact is a European coalition, its principal purpose is to preserve Europe's security. The member-states of the alliance -- except the Soviet Union -- are small and medium powers. Thus, the Soviet Army occupies a specific place in the Joint Armed Forces. This is so not only because the Soviet Union is the only great power of the Warsaw Pact, nor merely because among the participating socialist countries of the Pact only the Soviet Union possesses a nuclear potential and nuclear-missile arsenal, but also because the Soviet Government bears a special responsibility for universal peace and security. There is an important and concrete task in defending the alliance that falls to the Hungarian Army; a task that belongs to no one else. This is also a national interest.

The commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces is nominated based on the decision of the member-states' governments. The present commander in chief is Marshal Viktor Kulikov, first deputy defense minister of the Soviet Union. Each of the remaining six member-states provides a national deputy to the commander in chief. (The Hungarian deputy is Lieutenant General Lajos Morocz, state secretary of the Ministry of Defense.) The commander Political Consultative Committee.

Another important institution is the Military Council. The Council discusses practical tasks for exercising and preparing the armies, and prepares proposals that are implemented by decisions of the governments or orders of the ministers of defense.

Its Validity Extended

Seated in Moscow, the commander in chief's leading organ, the Supreme Command, coordinates the perfecting of the armed forces, the increasing of their combat readiness, and the equipping of troops with the newest military technical means and weapons.

It also helps to work out the unified principles used in the training of the staff, the commanders, and the political, technical, and engineering cadres. The Supreme Command is headed by a chief of staff (at present Army General Anatoliy Gribkov), who at the same time coordinates the activities of all leading organs of the Joint Command. The chief of staff has deputies nominated from all of the member-states' armies.

The seven European socialist countries participating in the pact have reached a principled agreement, because of the continuing existence of NATO and of the need for international peace and security, that it is necessary to extend the existence of the Warsaw Pact.

MSZMP CC, CONTROL COMMITTEE COMMUNIQUE

LD191921 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 19 Mar 85

[Communique on the joint session of the MSZMP Central Committee and the MSZMP Central Control Committee held 19 March in Budapest]

[Text] At the session, tribute was paid to the memory of Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, an outstanding personality of the CPSU and the international communist movement, whose death occurred recently.

The participants at the joint session heard and approved reports presented by Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Central Committee, and Andras Gyenes, chairman of the Central Control Committee, about the political and organizational preparation for the 13th party congress.

The leading bodies of the party noted that preparations for the 13th MSZMP Congress, due to open next Monday, have been made in an orderly way in accordance with organizational statutes. The responsible work and conduct of communists provides good preconditions in ensuring that the Congress can effectively carry out its work, which is very important from the point of view of the party and the entire people.

The Central Committee's guidelines for the congress were debated very actively and in a creative atmosphere in the local party groups, basic organizations, and regional conferences. The wide-ranging debate made a useful contribution to the preparation of the congress documents. The Budapest, county, and other county-level party conferences elected their Congress delegates. The party membership will be represented at the 13th congress by a total of 935 delegates, including 47 delegates directly elected at large enterprises.

The members of the Central Committee and the Central Control Committee listened to and acknowledged with approval the briefing by Janos Kadar on the participation of the Hungarian party and state delegation in the funeral ceremony in Moscow, as well as his report on the meeting of the delegation leaders of the Warsaw Pact member states.

Our party and our people highly value the 11 March decision of the CPSU Central Committee and its stances of great importance serving the cause of peace and social progress. The joint session expressed its good wishes and wished much success to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to every member of the Central Committee, to the Soviet communists, and to the Soviet people for the continuation of the Leninist policy, for their steadfast activity exerted for the perfection of a developed socialist society, and for the safeguarding of world peace. Our party and our government will also in the future work on further strengthening the indissoluble friendship linking our parties and peoples and on developing the many-sided cooperation between our countries.

The MSZMP attaches great importance to the 13 March meeting in Moscow of the delegation leaders of the Warsaw Pact member states. It supports the common resolution, which states that our countries will further develop their many-sided political, economic, and ideological cooperation, as well as other cooperation. The Warsaw Pact member states seek, in a constructive spirit, reduced tensions in the world, the non-militarization of space, and genuine agreements serving disarmament.

NATIONAL MINORITIES IN COUNTY COUNCILS ENCOURAGED

AU151117 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 14 Mar 85 p 5

[Text] The Baranya County national minority committee has examined the ways in which public administrative practice serves the interests of the national minorities in areas inhabited by Yugoslavs and Germans.

The committee concluded: In the apparatuses of all council organs in whose areas of jurisdiction national minorities are living, there is an adequate number of German or Serbo-Croatian speaking officials and executives, and generally they themselves are members of the national minority. For instance, there are more than 50 German and Serbo-Croatian mother-tongue workers dealing with the population's affairs in the county's largest town, in the Mohacs City Council, and in the village councils surrounding the town. The executives of the district technical supply organs developed in recent years have been selected from the beginning by taking into consideration the national minority composition of the population.

Compared to the previous situation, the proportion of German and Yugoslav council members increased in the local council organs, but this proportion is still not adequate everywhere and in conformity with the national minority composition of the population. Therefore, the national minorities committee has proposed to the county committee that it take into consideration the areas occupied by the national minority population when determing the electoral districts to be newly created, and also to do this in cooperation with the council organs.

In the Baranya County towns and villages inhabited by national minorities, bilingual or trilingual signs have become common. In the places where the proportion of national minorities reaches one-third of the population, the locality names are multilingual and so are the signs of the local council and public institutions. The national minority committee is now urging that -- similar to many other places -- the cultural houses, shops, restaurants, and other public establishments and economic units also use German and Serbo-Croatian language signs.

UP TO ONE-THIRD OF PRIVATE HOUSING HAZARDOUS

AU141716 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 13 Mar 85 p 7

[Katalin Szikora interview with Gustav Grofcsik, technical director of the Construction Quality Control Institute: "Before Collapse"]

[Excerpts] The Construction Quality Control Institute recently prepared a report concerning a survey taken last year on private home construction. The series of illustrations and the overall picture are both frightening: 34 percent of the buildings analyzed have not collapsed because the "structures do not know the laws of statics...."

[Szikora] What are your observations? Do people build with responsible technical guidance?

[Grofcsik] For 40 percent of the buildings examined there was not even a formal technical manager; the builders simply do not consider their presence necessary, although they are legally obliged to have one. One-third of the small-scale artisans in general construction did not have a mason or carpenter's trade license required for structural building, or they were building a type of structure for which they did not have a license.

[Szikora] Where is the situation worst?

[Grofcsik] In the lowland counties where generally the one-apartment family houses are built practically without professional supervision. The situation is however better than average in the capital, mainly due to the activity of the district councils.

[Szikora] What is the quality of the structures' construction?

[Grofcsik] We found faults seriously threatening load capacity and stability in 34 percent of the buildings examined. (Only three such cases have occurred over a long period in the state enterprises). In other words, it is a wonder that many houses are still standing.

[Szikora] The institute is not yet an authority; perhaps it will receive a license by next year. What can it do until then with regard to irregular construction?

[Grofcsik] We were accompanied by council people on examination construction works, and they ordered, where necessary, a change in the structures and the employment of experts. Continuous supervision of construction is their task but they do not have enough professional people to do it.

BRIEFS

GOVERNMENT APPOINTMENTS -- The government has decided upon personnel issues. The Council of Ministers has relieved Deputy Minister of Industry Zoltan Koeteles of his post, with recognition of his merits, because of his appointment to another important post. The government has appointed Laszlo Bekesi [Budapest party committee secretary] deputy minister of finance, and Otto Horvath [deputy chairman of the county Gyoer-Sopron Patriotic People's Front] deputy minister of health. [Text] [Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 15 Mar 85 LD]

GYORGY ACZEL'S NEW BOOK -- Budapest, March 15 (MTI) -- "Socialism, Nation, Culture," a collection on culture by Gyorgy Aczel, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, is soon to be published by the Budapest-based Kossuth Publishing House. The volume includes papers, articles, and interviews given to the international media between 1979 and 1985. The unity of socialism and culture, and socialism and nation is the focal point. Gyorgy Aczel discusses the present and the future of young people, the sciences and arts, democratism of public life, and the relation of homeland and progress. Assessing the assets of the past of the nation, the volume can be considered a contribution to the realistic self-knowledge of the nation, and orientation in vital national issues. [Text] [Budapest MTI English 1715 GMT 15 Mar 85 LD]

URBAN ON FRG, PACT RENEWAL, OTHER ISSUES

LD192053 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 19 Mar 85

[Passages enclosed within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] Here is a report on the press conference given by Jerzy Urban today. The conference began with a question by Krzysztof Bobonski of the FINANCIAL TIMES who asked how many political prisoners there are at present in Poland.

[Urban] "Let us call them noncriminal prisoners because in many cases the political motives are debatable or there are various motives involved. I cannot give you a number. The prisoners you had in mind are added up by the West in a peculiar way. For instance, such totals include those who stole printing equipment in Katowice and were sentenced for theft, and in whose case motives were taken into consideration but did not constitute the essence of the sentence. Or those who, for instance, beat up a militiaman, or those who in fact committed crimes against public order or against actions of the authorities for motives which were undoubtedly political. Further, also included are those who collected funds allegedly for the underground and then stole them. Were their actions therefore progovernment or antigovernment? One could really describe them as progovernment intentions but the deed is still illegal in criminal categories. I am therefore not able to do such arithmetic -- to add Grzegorz Piotrowski to Bogdan Lis, particularly as for both those persons inclusion on the same list would not be to their liking. In general, we in Poland do not want to have noncriminal prisoners, particularly prisoners imprisoned for politically-motivated deeds.

"On the other hand, we get the impression that many of these people who are under arrest today for such reasons resolutely strove to get themselves arrested. It is not surprising that Adam Michnik is in prison if one mentions that when he was being released following the amnesty he had to be forcefully ejected from prison; he lay down on the floor and passively and actively resisted leaving prison.

"We get the impression that Stefan Bratkowski is ardently and at any price trying to get himself into a prison. But I don't think efforts will be successful at the moment, even though his activity does qualify for acute legal action. As far as the authorities are concerned, their overwhelming feeling is that of regret over the feeling of danger to society -- which is not, in the case of this particular person, very great.

"We are also under the impression that it is not in the interest of Poland, but in the interest of those forces in the West which desire increased conflicts in Poland, that there should be political prisoners in Poland -- and in the interest of those persons who get to prison, or who try to get to prison because for them it is escape from oblivion, from being forgotten by the Western press, from losing influence. Even a short time in isolation gives them renown in the West and, even among political friends here in Poland, the status of martyr."

The spokesman was asked to comment on General Wojciech Jaruzelski's meetings in Moscow:

[Urban] "Talks were held in Moscow with leading statesmen from the FRG, Italy, Finland, the GDR, and with the UN secretary general. Thus, the Polish leader's profile of meetings was wide. This emphasizes the importance of Poland's voice in the world. A meeting with leaders of socialist countries was also held.

"Friendship and closer relations with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries has fundamental importance for us because we have firm, solid, and proven support there, and on the economic level cooperation with CEMA ensures stable and rhythmic development, and this creates the basis for normal cooperation with nonsocialist countries.

"The Polish and foreign press showed considerable interest in the meeting between Gen Jaruzelski and FRG Chancellor Kohl. The meeting should be seen against the somewhat broader background of relations between our countries. The meeting followed the line which has been continually declared by us in our desire to improve relations with the Federal Republic, and it seems that recently the FRG has been following the same road; it pleases us.

"Those taking part in the meeting considered it purposeful to continue, in due course, their conversation. This proves that seeking for ways of improving mutual relations seems to be genuine as far as the FRG is concerned, and the Polish Government thinks that in the FRG everything which disrupts these relations and their improvement should be eliminated."

A question was asked about when and where the extension of the Warsaw Pact will be made.

[Urban] "The present situation requires confirmation of the alliance and an extension of the pact. This has already been officially stated by member-countries of the Warsaw Pact. This pact is very necessary. On the other hand, the question of where and when and in what shape this confirmation and extension is to take place is a matter for further agreement between the countries involved. I would like to add that the countries which belong to the Warsaw Pact declared, and are continuing to declare, that dissolution of NATO would mean an immediate dissolution of the Warsaw Pact."

Much attention during today's conference was devoted to the case of Frederic Castaing, the Paris bookseller who visited Poland in March and was detained because illegal publications were found on him. He was released within 48 hours and he was ordered to leave Poland. After his arrival back in France, Frederic Castaing said that when he left detention he was kidnapped by several men and tortured, including receiving cigarette burns.

Apparently the emergency medical treatment center in Krakow where the bookseller stayed did, in fact, give assistance to him but nothing else is known in this case so far. Vigorous investigation is under way. The spokesman pointed out the incredible hullabaloo created, particularly in France, without waiting for an explanation of events. He also pointed out that it is nonsensical to blame the Polish authorities for these events, if indeed such events took place at all.

One of the next questions concerned the social consequences of the killing of Father Popieluszko and the trial of the perpetrators of this deed.

[Urban] "Most of all the killing of Father Popieluszko demonstrated that state-church relations are based on solid foundations -- given all the contradictions between the church and the state and the differences of opinion -- so that even such a well-targeted provocation, any dramatic single event, was not able to upset their balance.

"It has also demonstrated that the wider circles of Polish society refuse to be provoked by any incidental events, even if they are very moving and dramatic. Further, this case demonstrated the resoluteness, irrespective of who is the prepetrator or what their motives are. Finally, there is some connection with the events in the fact that a taboo has been overcome, the taboo of press character [as heard], the taboo of public silence on matters of the church, on certain irregularities which appear within the church."

At the end of the conference Minister Jerzy Urban gave his opinion on the statements of the Western press that on the one hand we are attacking the United States and on the other we are expecting loans and economic cooperation.

[Urban] "We are not attacking, I stress this. Nor are we stretching out our hand for money. We want to have normalization of relations. Normal relations assume economic cooperation; such cooperation is undertaken by states when it is in the interest of all the parties concerned. In a word: I categorically deny that we attack the United States."

Criticizes Western Media

AU191334 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Mar 85 p 6

[Article by Jan Rem, nom de plume of Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban: "The Height of Freedom"]

[Text] The stereotype of a country in which the entire people are fighting the authorities and being tormented by them in return is disappearing from Western articles dealing with Poland. Over the years, it has been discovered in London, and even in Paris, that something is wrong and that matters are not that simple. Therefore, a new view is spreading at present: Poland is incomprehensible, unfathomable, odd, full of paradoxes -- a completely mad place on earth.

The basis for such views is varied. First, opinions on Poland as a surreal country reflect a need felt by writers to explain themselves, because so far they have assessed the nature of Polish relations mistakenly. Of course they have erred, they say, but this is because Poland cannot be comprehended. Second, these wise and educated writers, experienced in making complex analyses, in fact have a very dogmatic view of the world. The ideological gauge which they apply to all countries does not apply to Poland because Poland is too primitive. Instead of doubting the reliability of their tools of assessment, they regard the target of their assessment as being beyond all logic. Third, regarding Poland as an incomprehensible country is politically convenient because this is not a compulsory starting point for any future analysis. If, for example, it becomes necessary to explain the strong rapprochment between one's own government and Warsaw, it is easier to resort to assessments of the type "Poland -- A Lunatic Asylum" than to show love for Warsaw, especially because yesterday one still wrote that the Poles were gritting their teeth beneath the strokes of a whip. Fourth and last, Poland is indeed a country of many paradoxes. Even we Poles find it difficult to comprehend all the complexities and their causes and to arrange them into some mental order. It is really difficult for foreign observers. Therefore, various kinds of influential rubbish are written.

In the French weekly LE NOUVVEL OBSERVATEUR, Jacques Julliard writes: "Potemkinist socialism. It is said that Count Potemkin, the favorite of Catherine II, arranged for the empress to pass between two rows of cardboard houses and peasants dressed in their Sunday best in order to camouflage the fiasco of his administration. This is similar in Poland." Everyone will ask where this foreigner saw appearances of success and prosperity in Poland. Further on in the article, it turns out that the writer was very excited about the foreign currency coupons issued by the Polish Savings Bank. He calls them false dollars, printed by the Warsaw government. Julliard regards these coupons as propaganda fakes of prosperity. In other words, the whole of our socialism is Potemkinist, or pretended, socialism because in suitable shops one can buy goods with coupons certifying that foreign currency has been paid into the bank, and not only with dollar bills.

The Swiss LA SUISSE writes with full seriousness that the essence of Polish economic difficulties is, and I quote, "the contest that has started on the economic front between Walesa and Jaruzelski!"

The author assures us that "the contest will be increasingly difficult," and says that if Poland joins the IMF, it will be forced to pay the price.... Then social dissatisfaction will rise and "the authorities will once again have a hard time with the Solidarity underground." Why should dissatisfaction caused by the Solidarity conspiracy's Western allies help the underground? Neither is it clear why Poland should join the IMF against its economic interests and why it is believed that Poland will join at all if this will worsen the people's material situation and not improve it. Also interesting is the stubborn belief that soon some event will give life to the semi-corpse of the underground. First it was believed that the amnesty and people's council elections would affect the American restrictions. And now the IMF is meant to throw a lifeline to [Solidarity activist] Bujak.

Until recently, Poland was written about with the use of one type of untruth. Right now, the topic "Poland" is making monkeys swing in trees, as it were. Thoughts on Poland run in all possible directions. Individual events in our country gain an enormous response, and immediately become a basis for fundamental analyses of the Polish situation, after which the new event gives rise to different ideas. For example, the TRIBUNE DE GENEVE has said that Warsaw's alleged torpedoing of the Genscher visit proves that the Polish authorities have gone mad and are behaving against their own interests, a further sign of which is the expulsion of the Myers. A regime which, in the paper's opinion, is threatened with collapse through a strike announced by the illegal Solidarity chiefs could save itself by legitimizing contacts with the West, because only these contacts would calm society. However, the regime, in its limitless stupidity, is sabotaging Western attempts to end this isolation from the West. Further on, the author writes about the success of the call for a general strike in Poland. This was printed after the strike, which in fact had never even taken place, and when Hans-Dietrich Genscher was already packing his shirt into his suitcase prior to departing for Warsaw. I assume that the average reader in the West really thinks that Poland is a surreal landscape which cannot be understood at all just like the fourth dimension or black holes in space, for the reader does not know that this surrealism applies to the reports on Poland and not to Poland itself.

One also encounters surprises when monitoring what the West tells Poland about the West itself. For many years, Radio Free Europe presented the capitalist countries as a garden of all earthly delights. There, mankind breathed not a mixture of oxygen and hydrogen, but freedom, gliding in a luxury car from one delight to the next. The Western citizen possessed a villa with a garden inside which there was a fountain, from which whisky flowed. All this time, a computer of the 70th generation gently massages his feet. All of a sudden, crash! Radio Free Europe started to broadcast programs depicting life in the West as Gehenna. In this picture, unemployment, poverty, desolation, loneliness, soullessness, and exploitation reach proportions known only to older Poles who read reports from America by Eddy Werfel at the beginning of the fifties. Radio Free Europe says that a Pole arriving in the West will meet with nothing but disappointment. When he arrives in the FRG, he will encounter signs on walls saying "Poles get out." He will be trapped by, and I quote, "waiting for years for a room of one's own and by a lack of any kind of permanent employment, to say nothing of working in one's own profession." Radio Free Europe also warns that discrimination awaits the emigrant. The social benefits will not be enough for the most meagre existence. His fate will be to stand humiliatingly in line for alms in the company of social dregs. He will encounter insensitivity; in the West there is no room for feelings, and bureaucratic soullessness reigns. Individual FRG cities are expelling Poles. It is no better in Australia. Refugees there are going to be repatriated to Poland. One even has to wait a month or two before one has access to the Polish Refugee Aid Committee in order to bemoan one's fate.

Another Radio Free Europe program says that a Pole who suffers for some time and somehow establishes himself in the West will never be assimilated by Western society. He will always be socially and psychologically alien. In other words, a lifelong nightmare.

When one listens to these exaggerated Radio Free Europe reports, one wonders what has happened. Maybe time has reversed itself back to the 1970's and Jacek Kalabinski is once more announcing on Warsaw Radio: "Here is the first program." For Kalabinski, neither then in Poland, nor today in Radio Free Europe, has ever believed in restraint. Or maybe one of Captain Czechowicz's successors in Radio Free Europe has upset the RFE leadership's sensitivity and is performing subversion on the air?

Everything is not how it is presented above. Radio Free Europe is quite simply overzealously carrying out the orders of those who control it. These orders are to scare Poles away from emigration and other trips for employment purposes. The Western countries, especially the United States, have had enough arrivals from Poland and wish to slam the door shut, even at the cost of cancelling out the effects of their own propaganda, beautifying life in the West. Therefore, Radio Free Europe is changing the picture of heaven in the West into one of hell from one day to the next, for Poland is not the center of the world, and for RFE's masters, their own problems of unemployment are more important than converting Poles into worshippers of capitalism.

It is difficult to predict what kind of picture of Poland the West will present and what kind of Western picture it will present to Poland in a few years' time. Maybe Poland will become a world model of work organization and industriousness, and Switzerland a land of losers? Falsehood is the height of freedom, because it is not constrained by facts. Unrestricted falsehood may develop in any direction, as long as it conforms to current interests.

Comments on Kidnapping

AU191833 Paris AFP in English 1817 GMT 19 Mar 85

[Text] Warsaw, March 19 (AFP) -- The Polish authorities have opened a "vigorous investigation" into the kidnap and torture in Krakow of French bookseller Frederic Castaing, Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban said here today. He said allegations in the French press that the kidnapping was carried out by Polish police were "idiotic."

Mr. Castaing, 41, claims he was kidnapped by three men in a black car in Krakow last Thursday. His kidnappers burned his hands, arms and stomach with a lighted cigarette, then left him on the street about an hour after they abducted him, he said. About 30 separate second- or third-degree burns were diagnosed on Mr. Castaing's body after return to Paris. France has demanded an immediate investigation into the case.

According to Mr. Urban, Mr. Castaing was arrested at Krakow airport and found in possession of "dozens of... newsletters" from the banned Solidarity trade union.

He was held for 48 hours, his visa was cancelled, and he was ordered on his release to leave Poland within two days. Mr. Castaing said in Paris that he had just come out of the police station when he was kidnapped.

Mr. Urban said the case was in the interest of neither the Polish Government nor police, adding that any analogy with the kidnap-murder of pro-Solidarity priest Jerzy Popieluszko last October by three secret policemen was "baseless."

The investigation was being carried out "vigorously," he said, adding that police had questioned a Krakow doctor who initially treated Mr. Castaing. Police were also seeking two women who found Mr. Castaing on the street after the kidnapping and took him to a first-aid station, the spokesman said.

Mr. Urban expressed surprise that Mr. Castaing had not filed a complaint in Poland and had waited until his return to Paris before revealing what had happened to him. He was also surprised at the "colossal fuss" in France over the affair. This, Mr. Urban said, could only "serve the interests of those who want to show that Poland is a death squad country."

Confirms Lis Hunger Strike

AU191509 Paris AFP in English 1507 GMT 19 Mar 85

[Text] Warsaw, March 19 (AFP) -- Polish Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban today confirmed that Bogdan Lis, the former deputy head of the banned Solidarity trade union, has been on hunger strike for the past week. "It is true Mr. Lis is on a hunger strike," Mr. Urban told a weekly press briefing. "It is a tactic political prisoners often use."

Mr. Lis, 32, began his strike to protest against his being held for more than a month without charges, relatives said. He was arrested on February 13 in a police raid on a Gdansk apartment where activists were meeting with former Solidarity chief Lech Walesa. Mr. Walesa was interrogated and ordered to remain in Gdansk, while Adam Michnik, 38, a leader of the KOR Social Self-Defence Committee, and Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, 30, a Solidarity leader in Wroclaw, were arrested.

Mr. Urban said investigations were so far incomplete on the three men, who would be accused of "organizing an illegal protest (and) running an outlawed organization," which carried a maximum prison term of five years.

Mr. Lis's lawyer was able to see him yesterday but the other two have not been allowed to see theirs since their arrest. All three are reportedly being held in separate cells in the women's section of the Gdansk detention center.

Mr. Lis, Mr. Michnik and Mr. Frasyniuk were released last summer in a general amnesty for political prisoners.

Lis 'Very Weak'

AU192033 Paris AFP in English 2021 GMT 19 Mar 85

[Text] Warsaw, March 19 (AFP) -- Bogdan Lis, a detained leader of the banned Solidarity trade union, has been on hunger strike for a week, the Polish Government acknowledged today.

Relatives of Mr. Lis, 32, said the fast in a Gdansk jail had aggravated a stomach-ulcer condition that developed during his last stint in prison, last year. They said he was "very weak". Mr. Lis, former deputy leader of Solidarity's underground steering committee, is on hunger strike to protest his having been held for more than a month without charges.

At his weekly press briefing, Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban said today: "It is true Mr. Lis is on hunger strike. It is a tactic political prisoners often use". He said Mr. Lis and two other oppositionists arrested February 13 in Gdansk -- Adam Michnik and Wladyslaw Frasyniuk -- would be accused of organizing an illegal protest and being leaders of an outlawed organization.

The three were seized when police broke up a meeting chaired by Lech Walesa, the Solidarity leader, to organize a 15-minute nationwide strike in protest at food-price rises.

TEXT In Brussels, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions sent a telegram today to Polish leader General Wojciech Jaruzelski urging the immediate release of Mr. Lis.

POREBSKI INTERVIEWED ON PZPR CAMPAIGN, PROGRAM

AU191659 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 16-17 Mar 85 pp 1-2

[Interview with PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski by Krystyna Kostrzewa: "From Yesterday to Tomorrow"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Kostrzewa: The accountability campaign, which is now involving the voivodship cells following the primary and secondary bodies, is under way in the party. This is presumably the third campaign of this type since the ninth congress in 1981, not counting the plenary sessions and last year's national conference....

Porebski: If this is meant to be an accusation that the party is organizing campaigns too often to be able to perceive its achievements, then the accusation is completely false. After all, during the ninth congress, party members — and not only they, but everyone aware of what the PZPR's performance of a leadership role in the state means -- firmly demanded a frequent institutionalized control of party authorities at all levels, and control over the implementation of adopted programs and resolutions. The accountability campaign, taking place more or less half-way through the elected party authorities' term of office, encourages such a critical look at oneself, at people, and at achievements.

The current accountability campaign, with its open, critical, and self-critical discussion, seems to prove that awareness of one's own responsibility for the implementation of the party program is becoming more and more widespread.

Kostrzewa: May we leave today and look to the future? There is a justified conviction that as the state's leading force, the party should determine development paths, foresee the future, and establish goals which mobilize the nation and fill one with hope....

Porebski: But does the PZPR concentrate solely on current difficulties or on remembering the past? Nothing of the sort. The progress achieved today in implementing the goals mapped out at the ninth congress will satisfy no one tomorrow, and the party is aware of this. It is also aware of the need to work out a program defining the paths of Poland's development, and it is doing so. If I say that the current accountability campaign is regarded as part of the preparations for the 10th congress, I have in mind the need to prepare a solid foundation for its resolutions, which will be implemented for many years to come, even after the year 2000. Just like all other forms of party activity, this congress will serve society. Everything that the party does is for the good of the state.

Kostrzewa: I understand it is too soon to speak of a concrete development plan for Poland, but perhaps I may ask for its general outlines....

Porebski: The draft program consists of everything that is part of the socialist state's political development and that determines its strength, prestige, position, material situation, and the standard of living of its citizens. The draft program is an attempt to reveal the development paths of the economy, culture, science, education, and social policy. The final shape of this program will depend on the discussions which, I think, will not only express desires, but also seek ways and means of performing the set tasks. The time of beautiful but hardly feasible visions is past.

LAST LINE

OLSZOWSKI SPEAKS ON PZPR INFLUENCE ON SOCIETY

AU191450 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16-17 Mar 85 p 2

[Report by Wanda Zagawa and Marek Badtke]

[Text] Speaking at the accountability conference of the Wloclawek Voivodship PZPR Committee on 15 March, Politburo member and Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski stressed that during the accountability campaign, the voivodship party organization has deeply involved itself in the most important affairs of the party and country. Right now, this organization is mustering its strength and becoming the real manager of its own area to an increasing degree. However, these positive facts cannot screen the shortcomings besetting not only the Wloclawek party organization, but the entire party. As the chief weakness, S. Olszowski mentioned the still imperfect way of communicating the tests of our resolutions and assessments to nonparty people. It is on the attitudes of party members that the PZPR's real influence on society in which it functions depends. Next, S. Olszowski indicated the need to further intensify ideological work, especially among young people. He stressed the need to increase the energy and raise the importance of the primary party organizations, consolidated their ties with working people, and actively influence the work of the state and economic administration. This assumes particular importance in light of the approaching Sejm elections and 10th PZPR Congress.

S. Olszowski also referred to detailed economic and social problems raised during the talks.

PZPR POLITBURO DISCUSSES YOUTH TASKS, PROBLEMS

LD192214 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 19 Mar 85

[Text] A moment ago we received a communique from today's session of the Politburo. It acquainted itself with the implementation of the resolution of the ninth plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, from July 1982, on the tasks for work with the young. The Politburo has shared the critical opinion of the Central Auditing Commission and the Youth Commission of the Central Committee, contained in the presented materials.

A great many organizations and party echelons have not properly tackled the tasks resulting from the ninth plenum resolutions. The actions undertaken limited themselves mainly to an increase in the number of meetings, debates and organizational actions. Sometimes, a considerable effort by party echelons and organizations was not a sufficient instrument for solving the complex problems of young people.

The Politburo has stated that affairs of the young generation must constantly be a subject of special interest to the party, and one must do everything so that the resolutions and decisions adopted will be implemented. The forming of ideological beliefs and social attitudes, involved in the program of socialist construction of the young generation, demands more consistency by party organizations and all links of the upbringing front, and especially from the youth organizations. The awareness of great issues awaiting solution must stimulate the young, and especially their organizations, to define their own responsibility for the country's future.

The program of the ninth congress and the socialist renewal is for young people an opportunity to demonstrate their activity and energy, their struggle for lofty ideals, social justice, and against all evil. The young must find in this program their own tasks, adequate for their aspirations and their place in society.

The Politburo has emphasized that rather than concerning oneself with granting excessive preferential treatment to young people, one should provide for young people the possibility of achieving an adequate job and the means to fulfill their goals in a proper way, that is, by their own conscientious study and work.

One should enable groups of young people to more extensively and boldly undertake economic activity, not only in solving the housing problem, but also in other spheres of socially beneficial work. The self-management of the young has great potential to be fulfilled through various forms of participation in people's councils, the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, trade unions, and employee and local self-management groups.

The Politburo has adopted specific decisions regarding the most urgent tasks that should be undertaken to implement the resolution of the ninth plenum.

It has been requested that another comprehensive assessment of the fulfillment of this resolution be submitted to a meeting of the Central Committee this year.

The Central Committee Politburo has acquainted itself with and approved the directions of the draft law on youth affairs prepared by youth organizations. It has been considered indispensable to speed up the work and to submit the draft law before submitting it to the Sejm, for wide social discussion, especially among young people.

The Politburo has assessed the state of physical education and sport in the country. The need for faster development of physical education in rural communities, new housing projects, and especially in enterprises was pointed out. It was also shown that it is necessary to modernize the whole system of sport instruction. The need for more effective combatting of pathological phenomena -- such as the growing commercialization of sport, gaining the services of sportsmen by bribery, illegal stimulants, and signs of hooliganism during sporting events -- was stressed.

The Politburo analyzed issues connected with party work at housing projects. The Politburo also acquainted itself with the course and results of talks which were held during the stay of the Polish party and state delegation in Moscow, at the funeral ceremonies of Konstantin Chernenko.

OPZZ OFFICIAL DISCUSSES PRICE HIKES BACKGROUND

AU191455 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 15 Mar 85 p 7

[Interview with Romuald Sosnowski, deputy chairman of the National Trade Union Accord (OPZZ), by Daniela Sielska: "A Bandaid Is Not Enough When Drugs Are Needed"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Sielska: The trade union movement has been subjected to a difficult test recently -- I mean the food price rises. Your negative stance on three of the variants that were first proposed is well-known. It stems from the communiques on later talks with the authorities that you had a series of reservations as to the final decision as well. Have the final solutions satisfied you?

Sosnowski: Satisfaction is a bad word to use here. The OPZZ Council's stance reflected the opinions of the trade unions in factories. There, people had expressed concern for their future and that of their families. We understand the harsh economic requirements and complexity of our situation. Nevertheless, we believed we ought to define a social screen which would afford compensation for the price rises.

Already in the first stage of talks, the government accepted many of our suggestions. Let me recall: The lowest pension was fixed at Z7,000 per month, compensation was increased and higher benefits granted for invalid children and the poorest families, the increased costs of central heating and hot water were postponed, and the prices of coal and coke were raised. The government committed itself to assess the rise in living costs, taking into account the costs of services. The abolition of rationing was limited to grain products and the price rises were divided into three stages.

Sielska: Your stance toward the price rises was not adopted unanimously. For example, a reader wrote to us saying that the unions pretend to be concerned for working people, and yet encourage the continuation of economic chaos and the crisis. In other words, you demand something but do not build it.

Sosnowski: Our unpleasant role is such that we are attacked from all sides. While on the subject of letters, I could quote thousands of others in which people, mainly pensioners, ask us for protection and present their difficult material situation. Are we supposed to be deaf to these voices?

We do want to build. More than once we have declared our desire to solve various matters.

We also want to take part in the formation of decisions on important social issues. Hence the idea of creating joint government-trade union teams and hence our presence in various commissions and councils (for example the Economic Reform Commission or Socio-economic Council). We will be wherever there is a serious forum for presenting our views and comparing them with others. This way we believe we will succeed in contributing toward the seeking of optimal solutions, not only concerning prices. At the same time, we seek systemic solutions and effective mechanisms. For we do not believe in applying a bandaid where a strong drug is needed.

DAILY ON FRG EFFORTS TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS

AU191341 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 13 Mar 85 p 5

[Wojciech Pomianowski article: "Slight Signs of a Thaw"]

[Excerpts] During the past few weeks, certain, although still slight, signs of a thaw have occurred on the very frozen soil of Polish-German relations. These are creating the chance to renew the normalization process, if they indeed augur a revision of the official Bonn stance toward Poland, especially that of the Christian Democrats, and a commitment to the terms of the 7 December 1970 treaty with Poland.

Some 2 years ago there was a departure from the December treaty and a period of official talks on the Rhine about borders or about an alleged German minority in Poland, combined with a rebirth of "yesterday's" people, slogans, and ideals. Today, an entire series of speeches in a more realistic spirit and tone have been given by prominent politicians of the ruling Christian Democrats.

The series was started on 6 February by Volker Ruehe, deputy chairman of the CDU faction in the Bundestag, during a parliamentary debate on the federal government's policy toward Poland. His speech caused loud reverberations, and not only in the Bundestag. And although he did not cross the barrier of the so-called German legal positions, whereby the German Riech continues to exist within its 1937 borders and the German problem is open and waiting to be resolved by means of a mythical peace treaty with a united Germany, he did in fact try to avoid this legal barrier, probably the first Christian Democrat to do so this clearly.

For confirming his faith in the legal formulations and in the resultant West German treaty with Poland, he drew attention primarily to the "political situation."

Friedrich Vogel, minister of state in the Federal Chancellery, went even further during the same Bundestag debate. He stressed more clearly the primacy of political reality over legal formulas, saying that since the signing of the 1970 treaty, the former German terirtories east of the Odra and Nysa rivers are "abroad" as far as the FRG is concerned.

An entire group of deputies from the CDU's right wing protested against "Chamberlainism" in West German politics and demanded that the chancellor "proclaim himself clearly in favor of the Federal Republic's legal positions."

This the chancellor did in the Budestag on 27 February, during the annual "Report on the People's Situation in a Divided Germany." However, he did not satisfy the most obdurate persons; after listing the basic legal acts determining CDU German Eastern policy and relations with the socialist countries, Helmut Kohl made a statement about relations with Poland which has been recognized as a CDU event in this field. He said: "We confirm now and in the future the Warsaw Pact and the establishment of principles between the FRG and the PPR which guarantee the inviolability of borders and a respect for territorial integrity, as well as a respect for the sovereignty of all European states as a basic condition of peace. The FRG and PPR have no territorial claims against each other and will not voice such claims in the future. Today, on the other side of Poland's western border, there are Polish families for whom this area has become a fatherland over the past two generations. This we will respect and never undermine."

Although the chancellor undermined the significance of this statement quite quickly and personally, including in the columns of the Hamburg daily DIE ZEIT, nevertheless the fact remains that Helmut Kohl, in the words of one Rhine newspaper, is the first CDU government chief in the history of the Republic to publicly recognize the Odra and Nysa border as unchangeable, and it was recognized in the Bundestag as well. Both the speeches of Ruehel and Vogel and that of Kohl show that a period of analysing policy toward Poland so far is taking place in the CDU camp. These new accents may herald a process of transferring this policy onto a more realistic path, even though a violent counteroffensive from the CDU right wing, including the changeable stance of the chancellor himself, whom Social Democrat chief Hans-Jochen Vogel has accused of "glaring two-facedness" in an interview for the DIE ZEIT, shows that this process may be long and without any preestablished results.

Nevertheless, an effort by Bonn to restrict the damage caused by a deterioration of relations with Poland in various spheres has been visible recently. Minister Genscher's Warsaw visit was also an expression of this, regardless of the various motives behind this trip. Both the very fact of the visit and the talks mean that Poland is detecting more realistic tones on the Rhine and is unchangingly ready to normalize relations with the FRG on the basis of the 7 December 1970 treaty.

It is still to early to forecast any rapid progress in this normalization, just as opinions as to an eventual revision of CDU policy toward Poland along the lines of the realistic stance of the Social Democrats and Liberals are too hasty. After all, it is not just speeches which may herald this, but concrete facts, such as the results of the approaching Polish-West German economic talks in Warsaw or the Bonn stance toward the revisionist forces and trends in the FRG. There will be no shortage of opportunities to present this stance in the coming weeks and months.

OBODOWSKI GIVES TOPICS FOR FRG ECONOMIC MEETING

LD191945 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 19 Mar 85

[Text] The fifth session of the Joint Commission for Economic, Industrial, and Technical Cooperation between Poland and the FRG is to take place in Warsaw on 21 and 22 March. Our delegation will be headed by Deputy Premier Janusz Obodowski and the FRG delegation by FRG Economics Minister Martin Bangemann.

This meeting, Deputy Premier Obodowski said, is being held after a few years' break. That is why the Polish delegation will particularly aim at getting general, normal principles adopted to regulate economic and financial relations. We want to establish lasting and mutually beneficial economic and trade links. This is also an objective necessity because of the considerable financial undertakings of our state toward the FRG. We shall ask that all kinds of limitations put on our export to the FRG be lifted, and we also expect active support from the FRG that will enable Poland to have more convenient access to the EEC market. Moreover, an important matter to be discussed will be industrial cooperation, because the FRG, our greatest trade partner among the capitalist countries, gives precedence to many of them in this sphere.

OLSZOWSKI MEETS ARAB ENVOYS CONCERNED OVER GULF WAR

LD191149 Warsaw PAP in English 1115 GMT 19 Mar 85

[Text] Warsaw, March 18 -- Poland's Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski met here today with representatives of the League of Arab States Committee for Iraqi-Iranian Conflict: the Iraqi Ambassador Hikmat Abd' al-Sattar Hussein, the Moroccan Ambassador Abdessalam Ouazzani and the Ambassador of Tunisia Mohamad Mokaddem.

Arab officials pointed to the dangerous development of the conflict and discussed the efforts made by the committee member-states to end the war.

Minister Olzsowski expressed his concern over the escalation of military operations and said that Poland invariably comes out for ceasing them and solving of the conflict by peaceful means. Poland supports international initiatives to this end, and specially the efforts made by the U.N. secretary-general, Minister Olszowski said.

PEC, STATE COUNCIL EXAMINE ELECTION RESULTS

Ceausescu Chairs PEC Meeting

AU192035 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1915 GMT 19 Mar 85

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 19/3/1985 -- A meeting of the Executive Political Committee [PEC] of the CC of the RCP was held under the chairmanship of Romanian Communist Party General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu. During the meeting the participants analysed the returns of the elections of deputies to the Grand National Assembly and to the county, municipal, town, and communal peoples councils. The Executive Political Committee considered that the March 17 elections, which proceeded in an atmosphere of strong unity and intense patriotic commitment, under the token of a high civic responsibility, highlighted the full adhesion to and confidence of the whole people in the domestic and foreign policy promoted by the RCP and the Romanian state, in the luminous future of the country, as well as its firm resolve to implement unswervingly the resolutions of the 13ch congress, the party programme for the construction of the multilaterally developed socialist society and Romania's progress towards communism.

The Executive Political Committee also pointed out that the March 17 elections were a strong manifestation of the democratism of the Romanian socialist society that provides the broadest framework of participation of the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia and all the citizens of the homeland, irrespective of nationality, in the management of society, the working out and implementation of the plans for a harmonious economic and social development of the country, of all the counties, for improving the material and spiritual welfare of the people. At the same time the Executive Political Committee showed that the whole progress of the electoral campaign as well as the returns of the poll strongly proved the tight, indissoluble unity of all the citizens around the Romanian Communist Party, the trusted leader of the people along the path of socialism and communism, the unity that represents the guarantee of the country's steady progress, of its advancement to ever higher stages of progress and civilization.

The Executive Political Committee, the party general secretary himself warmly thanked the millions of citizens that voted [as received] the candidates of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front and at the same time congratulated the new deputies to the Grand National Assembly and the people's councils, wishing them success in the fulfillment of the mandate entrusted on them by the electorate.

Nicolae Ceausescu expressed the belief that the whole people would strengthen the March 17 vote through new deeds of work, through ever more important achievements in all the domains of activity, in the fulfillment of the plan for this year and the entire five-year plan period, providing a passage, under the best of circumstances, to the implementation of the targets regarding the country's economic and social development over the 1986-1990 period and further, until the year 2000.

The report on the progress of the March 17 elections and their returns will be submitted for debate and endorsement by the plenary meeting of the CC of the RCP.

State Council Meets

AU192044 Buchares AGERPRES in English 1820 GMT 19 Mar 85

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 19/3/1985 -- Met on March 19 under the chairmanship of Nicolae Ceausescu the State Council examined a report on the returns of general elections of deputies to the people's councils. [sentence as received]

On behalf of the RCP Leadership, the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, President Nicolae Ceausescu expressed satisfaction at the results of the elections of deputies to the Grand National Assembly and the people's councils, and showed that the votes cast for the SDUF candidates were a powerful assertion of the whole people's unity round the party, the full adhesion of the country's citizens to the home and foreign policy promoted by the Romanian party and state.

Communique Released on Results

AU192047 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1922 GMT 19 Mar 85

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 19/3/1985 -- The communique of the State Council of Romania on the returns of elections of deputies to people's councils released on March 19 shows:

General elections took place on March 17, 1985 of deputies to 40 county people's councils, the Bucharest City People's Council and its six districts, to the people's council of the Ilfov agricultural sector, 55 municipality peoples councils, 181 town people's councils and 2,705 commune people's councils.

According to the data centralized by the electoral commissions, the election returns are as follows:

125,762 candidatures were put up in the 62,237 constituencies for people's councils, with two nominees for one seat in 48,701 constituencies and three in 7,412. 62,232 deputies were elected, of which 4,516 deputies to county people's councils, 155 deputies to the Bucharest City People's Council, 410 deputies to the people's councils of the Bucharest city districts, 55 deputies to the people's council of the Ilfov agricultural sector, 2,859 deputies to the municipality people's councils, 4,525 deputies to the town people's councils and 49,712 deputies to the commune people's councils.

99.99 per cent of the total electors cast their votes. The candidates for the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front gathered, per categories of people's councils, between 95.33 and 99.27 per cent of the total votes cast. The cons ranged from 0.73 to 4.67 per cent.

Seats in five communal constituencies remained vacant as none of the nominees had a majority of votes.

New elections will be held for the vacant seats.

CEAUSESCU CONGRATULATES GORBACHEV ON ELECTION

AU181026 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 15 Mar 85 p 1

[Congratulatory Message sent by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu to Mikhail Gorbachev on his election as CPSU Central Committee general secretary]

[Text] On behalf of the RCP Central Committee and on my own behalf I want to extend warm congratulations to you, as well as best wishes on your election to the high office of CPSU Central Committee general secretary.

I am firmly convinced that by acting together we will ensure that the traditional relations of close friendship and cooperation between Romania and the USSR will be constantly strengthened, that militant solidarity between our parties and states will be continuously consolidated, and that our fruitful cooperation and collaboration in the political, economic, scientific-technological and other areas of socialist and communist construction will expand and deepen to the benefit of our peoples and the general cause of socialism and peace. For this purpose, let us do all we can to develop economic relations between our countries even more in the spirit of the decisions adopted at the June 1984 economic summit meeting of the CEMA member-countries and, within this framework, to resolve, with united efforts, certain problems of great importance for the economic progress of our countries in the interests of the Romanian people and the Soviet peoples and of increasing the force and influence of socialism in the world.

We believe that under the current international circumstances it is necessary for us to take energetic action to safeguard peace, avoid a nuclear catastrophe, and ensure that the Geneva negotiations between the USSR and the United States yield the best possible results. We attach particular importance to intensifying cooperation between our parties and countries in the international arena in the struggle for peace, detente, and international cooperation, for halting the arms race, reducing and totally eliminating nuclear weapons from Europe and throughout the world, and for disarmament and international security.

Esteemed Comrade Gorbachev, in conveying to you once again most cordial wishes for good health, great work energy, and success in fulfilling the highly responsible mission entrusted to you by the party, I want to reiterate the determination and desire of the RCP and of the Romanian people to act, together with the CPSU, to continue to strengthen and develop Romanian-Soviet relations of friendship and cooperation, a fact that is fully in keeping with the interests of the peoples of our countries and with constantly improving their material and cultural well-being.

I also wish the Communists and all working people in the friendly, neighboring USSR new and great achievements -- in the light of the 27th CPSU Congress -- in their overall activity of building socialism and communism and in their struggle for peace, detente, disarmament, security, and understanding among all world nations.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general

LUMEA REPORTS GORBACHEV'S ELECTION, SPEECH

AU181040 Bucharest LUMEA No 11 in Romanian 14 Mar 85 p 4

[Text] An extraordinary plenary session was held by the CPSU Central Committee in Moscow on 11 March.

The plenary session stressed that in these sad days the Communists and all Soviet people are rallying more closely around the CPSU Central Committee and its Politburo. The Soviet people -- the plenary session communique stresses -- justifiably view the party as the leading and guiding force of society and are firmly determined to resolutely struggle to implement the domestic and foreign policy promoted by the Leninist CPSU.

The plenary session unanimously elected Mikhail Gorbahev as CPSU Central Committee general secretary.

Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, then took the floor. He expressed profound gratitude for the great trust bestowed on him and stressed that he is completely aware of the great responsibility devolving on him in this position. Mikhail Gorbachev assured the audience that he will dedicate all his energy to faithfully serving the party, the people, and the great Leninist cause and to resolutely implementing the CPSU program aimed at further strengthening the USSR's economic and defense potential, improving the Soviet people's living standard, strengthening peace, and implementing the domestic and foreign policy promoted by the Communist Party and Soviet state.

As far as foreign policy is concerned, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that the line pursued by the USSR is one of peace and progress. "We value the successes of detente achieved in the seventies and we are ready to continue to participate in the process of establishing peaceful and mutually advantageous cooperation between states on the basis of equality of rights, mutual respect, and noninterference in domestic affairs," the CPSU Central Committee general secretary stressed.

DASCALESCU HEADS DELEGATION VISITING MOSCOW

For media reportage of the visit to Moscow by Constantin Dascalescu, member of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee and premier of the SR of Romania, see the Eastern Europe section of the 19 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

PREPARATION OF ANTI-INFLATION MEASURES CONTINUES

LD192231 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1917 GMT 19 Mar 85

[Text] Belgrade, March 19 (TANJUG) -- The Yugoslav Government is preparing a number of measures and regulations aimed at curbing the current inflation, which came close to 70 per cent in the first quarter of this year.

At a meeting of an assembly commission last Wednesday, Federal Secretary for the Market and General Economic Affairs Sinisa Korica stated that price increases in March ranged from 10 to 30 per cent, while the prices of some products went up by as much as 200 per cent.

Because of such trends, the Yugoslav Government will take a series of measures aimed at reducing the pressure on prices. Overall operation with bills of exchange will be reviewed, and sanctions against all persons trading with bills of exchange without cover will be tightened, Korica said.

The members of the Assembly Commission for the Market and General Economic Affairs emphasized that the government must keep in mind not only the economic, but also the social effects of inflation.

Since the beginning of the year, the Yugoslav currency, the dinar, lost 17.6 per cent of its exchange value against the U.S. dollar, and 10.8 per cent against the basket of convertible currencies.

The current inflation -- the figure obtained by comparing the indexes for February 1985 and February 1984 -- in Yugoslavia has reached 66.9 per cent.

Prices increased by 13.2 per cent in the first two months of this year.

The average wages last year increased by 55 per cent, while the official inflation figure in December 1984 was 52.4 per cent.

LCY PRESIDIUM VIEWS WORK PROGRAM, OTHER ISSUES

LD192358 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1832 GMT 19 Mar 85

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Mar (TANJUG) -- The LCY Central Committee Presidium, presided over by Ali Sukrija, has considered the obligations and tasks it must assume to carry out the conclusions of the 16th session of the LCY Central Committee and the LCY Central Committee's orientation work program. On this basis the Presidium supplemented and concretely formulated its work and activities program for the period up to the 13th LCY Congress.

The Presidium will dedicate itself resolutely to performing the tasks arising from the conclusions fo the 16th session, bearing in mind that the LCY Central Committee has accepted the major task of considering in the coming months of this year the most important socioeconomic problems in the field of the economic system and economic policy and adopting clear, uniform, and binding ideopolitical attitudes that will serve as the basis for settling these problems.

The Presidium stresses that all the LC organizations and organs should immediately start organized ideopolitical activities aimed at implementing the conclusions of the 16th session of the LCY Central Committee. This imposes on them the need to supplement and adapt their work program and take concrete action to resolve the most pressing problems in their work, self-managing, and social environments.

By means of offensive, dynamic, and efficient ideopolitical involvement, Communists in self-managing and sociopolitical organs, the delegate system, and all other social organizations and institutions of self-managing socialist democracy should be quicker and more resolute in carrying out the tasks aimed at raising production and exports, restraining inflation and rising prices, increasing employment, and halting the fall in the standard of living of working people and citizens, while consistently adhering to the adopted taxation and social policies and carrying out other economic policy tasks.

One of the priority tasks of the LC organizations and organs and other social subjective forces is the united sociopolitical action pursued throughout the country in order to carry out the social agreements reached at the federal level on the acquisition and distribution of income, on employment, on the foundations of the taxation system and taxation policy, on the housing and communal sphere of activity, and on the basic aspects of the strategy for the country's scientific and technological development.

Activity, it was stressed at the session, should be intensified throughout society to make it possible to carry out the necessary changes in the present social situation and ensure conditions for further, more successful, and more stable development of society.

In implementing these conclusions, the rank and file, basic organizations, and all LC leaderships should display full initiative and responsibility. The public information media should also contribute to this activity.

To ensure the realization of a united and effective action throughout the LC, the republican LC committees and the provincial LC committees should keep the LCY Central Committee informed on implementation of the conclusions of the LCY Central Committee 16th Plenum.

The Presidium considered the Federal Executive Council's report on talks with the IMF and other international finance organizations in connection with the rescheduling of foreign debt obligations now falling due. In this connection the LCY Central Committee Presidium stressed the need for all social subjects to meet their obligations and carry out their tasks in the field of the country's foreign liquidity.

The Presidium considered a report on work performed by the Action Conference of Communists in the field of exports and economic relations with foreign countries, held in Ljubljana on 24 and 25 January 1985. Assessing the results of the work done by this conference in positive terms, the Presidium endorsed the attitudes adopted by the conference with regard to the tasks of Communists employed in the field of exports and economic relations with foreign countries in the realization of the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization and of the LCY's ideopolitical orientations. The LC organizations and organs active in this sphere of the economy should study the attitudes adopted at this conference and should implement them through their work and ideopolitical activity programs and should mobilize the working people and the self-management and administrative organs in the associated labor organizations and other organizations to carry out this task.

All the associated labor organizations and their associations should adopt and carry out individual and joint production and export programs based on pooling labor and resources and on income interdependence on the unified Yugoslav market. To this end it is also necessary to adopt the appropriate economic policy measures and to carry out the envisaged changes in the economic system in keeping with the stabilization program.

The republic and provincial LC leaders should regularly monitor and encourage the realization of the attitudes adopted by this and other LC action conferences and keep the LCY Central Committee Presidium informed in this connection. Within the framework of its work program, the Presidium will also assess the implementation of these attitudes in individual economic spheres of activity and major systems and will keep the LCY Central Committee informed.

The Presidium also considered the basic questions of coordinating the activity of the sociopolitical and other SFRY organs and organizations in the SAWPY Federal Conference in connection with the realization of the tasks of the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program.

Ali Sukrija, LCY Central Committee Presidium President, and Veselin Djuranovic, SFRY Presidency president, briefed the Presidium on the Yugoslav delegation's participation in the funeral of Konstantin Chernenko in Moscow and on the conversation they had had with M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Mitja Ribicic, LCY Central Committee Presidium member, reported to the Presidium on launching the first book of Josip Broz Tito's collected works in German in Bonn and his meetings with SPD Chairman W. Brandt and other personages of the FRG's political life. The Presidium also considered other matters within its sphere of competence.

TANJUG SUPPLIES DATA ON LCY MEMBERSHIP

LD192141 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1710 GMT 19 Mar 85

[Text] Belgrade, March 19 (TANJUG) -- Interest among the Yugoslav working peoples and citizens in joining the League of Communists is always greater when the league deals actively with questions which are of importance to them. As a rule, the reputation and confidence it enjoys among the working class grow in such circumstances. On the other hand, stagnation in the admission of new members to the LCY occurs in situations of aggravated economic operation and halts in the development of self-management.

This assessment was reached by a working group of the Cadre Commission of the LCY Central Committee, which analysed trends in the LCY membership over the past decade.

In mid-1984, the LCY had 2 million 188,943 members, which is twice as much as ten years ago. The largest single group within the LCY membership, making up almost one third of the total, are workers -- 660,000 members. The average age of LCY members is 37.

During the past four years, the rise in the number of LCY members has slowed down, partly because of fewer newly-admitted members, and partly due to those leaving the LCY.

The largest number of newly-admitted members in the party's history was recorded during the illness and following the death of President Tito, in 1980, when 200,000 new members were admitted to the LCY.

The lowest number of new members to be admitted to the LCY was in 1983 -- only 80,954.

The majority of those leaving the LCY, or as much as 46 per cent, are the "missing", i.e., those who failed to register, or whose documents were lost, followed by those struck off the LCY register or expelled, while 13 percent lift the LCY voluntarily.

NARODNA ARMIJA PRAISES 16TH LCY CC PLENUM

AU191651 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian No 2383 14 Mar 85 p 3

[Br. Miletic commentary: "After the Public Discussion in the LCY: Conclusions and the Program Until the 13th Congress"]

[Excerpts] The most urgent problems of our political, economic, and social life have finally been sorted into frameworks in which one knows who should solve the problems, as well as how and when. The problems were put on the right track by the LC members at large and all the working people and citizens during the public debate on the implementation of the leading role and strengthening of the ideological and action unity of the party.

The torrent of public criticism has not bypassed anyone. The members made it known to everyone that the contradictions in society had piled up to such an extent that even the further course of the revolution will be jeopardized unless the LC makes a turn in the implementation of its role.

The 2-day discussion at the 16th session of the LCY Central Committee -- and the same may be said about the 8-month dialogue in basic and other LC organizations -- has one virtue that should not be passed over when one assesses the present stage of the great work started by the 13th plenum: the plebiscitelike support for the basic values of the revolution. As sharp as the criticism may have been, and as much as the dissatisfaction -- sometimes reaching bitterness -- with the state of the LC, the self-managing road that Tito and we set has not been brought into question for a single moment. On the contrary, shortcomings were indicated with the sole purpose of going faster along that road. This, it seems, is the greatest value of the democratic dialogue that has rarely been seen before.

In regard to the Central Committee, it has drafted a program until June of next year. A score of the most urgent subjects indicated by the public discussion will be discussed at sessions of the highest party forum to meet before the 13th LCY Congress. This is the first, but not the only, proof that the democratic demands of the 2 million members and the trust of the broader socialist public in the LC will not be disappointed.

MAMULA ADDRESSES RESERVISTS ON DEFENSE TASKS

LD191508 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1208 GMT 19 Mar 85

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 19 Mar (TANJUG) -- The socialization of national defense and social self-protection functions and training our population, especially young people, for the defense of our country is the paramount task of reserve officers' organizations in the period ahead. This is why, in addition to their professional skills, reserve officers must possess the ability to quickly perceive and reject all manifestations running counter to our orientation concerning our self-management, nonaligned, and socialist development. This was said in Belgrade today at the session of the federal conference of the Federation of Reserve Officers of Yugoslavia.

Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula, federal secretary of national defense, took part in the work of the federal conference. Speaking of present problems and of the role of the military in present-day international relations and of the directions of further development of national defense and the build-up of the SFRY Armed Forces, Branko Mamula said that the military factor is gaining an ever-increasing role in international relations.

As an integral part of the world community Yugoslavia is subject to both negative and positive impacts from relations emerging in this community on the economic, political, cultural, and military planes. We have no illusions that in a possible war of wide or widest proportions on European territory our area could stay outside this military conflict for any length of time, added Mamula. He stressed that nonaligned Yugoslavia, in consistently implementing the policy of peaceful active coexistence, is vitally interested in nurturing good relations with everyone, especially with neighboring countries.

Speaking of the situation and developments in our society and about their impact on security and defense in our country, Adm Branko Mamula stressed that without a compromise we must resist enemy and counterrevolutionary activity from bureaucratic-etatist, nationalistic and separatist, and other antisocialist and antiself-management forces and their ideologies. Past experience has unequivocally confirmed, said Mamula, that brotherhood, unity, and togetherness of our nations and nationalities are the main prop of our defense-protection system. They are based on their equality and enjoyment of equal rights, the socialist self-management social system, and our nonaligned foreign policy. By consolidating and developing these very values of our society, said Mamula, we successfully resolved all the internal difficulties we have come up against.

Speaking of the attainments and directions of further developing the concept and doctrine of national defense and build-up of Yugoslav Armed Forces, Mamula stressed that our Titoite orientation and our basic ideopolitical options and stands in war time and in the defense of our country are very clear indeed and extensively known.

This is why, in keeping with the needs stemming from the nature of modern war and armed conflict and the dangers threatening the security of our country, and also having regard at the same time to our manpower and material possibilities, our basic orientation, Mamula said, is to have the kind of Armed Forces that will be numerically strong enough and adequately technically equipped to guarantee the prevention of any surprise being sprung on us, able successfully to accept the first battle and, together with other national defense and social self-protection subjects, conduct a protracted exhaustive war till final victory.

MARKOVIC ANSWERS FOREIGN JOURNALISTS' QUESTIONS

LD161442 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1902 GMT 16 Mar 85

[Text] Opatija, 16 Mar (TANJUG) -- Ante Markovic, president of the Croat Executive Council, today talked to about 50 foreign journalists accredited in Yugoslavia. The journalists are paying a 3-day visit to the Rjieka region.

Ante Markovic informed the journalists about the topical economic and political situation in Croatia and in Yugoslavia. He stressed that last year's increases in social product of 64 percent and in income of 65 percent were the highest in the last 10 years. He also said that last year, for the first time in the past 5 years, labor productivity and efficiency increased. These results have made it possible to meet foreign debts on time, to eliminate shortages, and to halt the fall in the standard of living. Particularly good results were achieved in tourism so that last year's foreign currency earnings from tourism increased by 22 percent in Yugoslavia and by 33 percent in Croatia. Seven million foreign visitors visited Yugoslavia last year.

Replying to a question, Ante Markovic said that associated labor in Croatia is in favor of an open foreign currency market that would gradually be transformed from a marginal into a dominant one. Out of Yugoslavia's total foreign debt of $18.5 billion, Croatia owes $3 billion.

The Croat Executive Council president confirmed that the trial will soon open in Zagreb and in Varazdin of a group of terrorists whose members are being held in custody and that their accomplices will be allowed to defend themselves while on bail. It was established, in the course of the investigation, that the group was in possession of the usual terrorist paraphernalia. Most of the explosive devices planted in public places were duly uncovered thanks to the system of social self-protection. Those that exploded caused no casualties nor any substantial material damage.

Replying to the question about relations between the state and the church, Markovic said that they were satisfactory when it comes to religious categories. However, problems arise when the church and religion become a screen for political activity and, Markovic stressed, a small but influential section of the Catholic hierarchy in the SR of Croatia is militant. Our society will not accept any idea about the rehabilitation of those criminals who, by spreading intolerance and fomenting hatred, contributed to the exterminations, Markovic said.

TANJUG NOTES SENATE MX VOTE AS GENEVA TALKS BEGIN

LD200328 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0313 GMT 20 Mar 85

[Text] Washington, March 20 (TANJUG) -- While talks are underway in Geneva on nuclear armament reduction, the U.S. Senate last night upheld Reagan's request for approving 1.5 billion dollars for the production of another 21 controversial 10-warhead MX missiles. The Senate decision, approved with 55 votes for and 45 against and assessed in administration circles as President Reagan's major success, has been taken under heavy pressure exerted by the head of the White House. Reagan has on several occasions underlined that the continuation of the production of MX missiles is of essential importance to the success of the Geneva talks. The Pentagon and the White House maintain that the U.S. negotiating position would be weakened without the missiles. The House of Representatives, in which Democrats are in the majority, is, however, yet to have its say about the missiles.

BORBA QUESTIONS U.S. HUMAN RIGHTS CRITERIA

AU191915 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Mar 85 p 2

[D. Vukobratovic commentary: "Seks in the American Way"]

[Excerpts] This year as well, the American State Department informed Congress on how "human rights" are being respected, or rather, not respected, in the world, or, more precisely, in 184 countries in the world. This also includes Yugoslavia.

The report would not have deserved special attention (it is repeated every year) had it not been more overflowing this time with "new occurrences" of human rights being violated in our country, and had it not been followed -- which was certainly not accidental -- by "appropriate" texts even in such prominent American dailies as THE NEW YORK TIMES and THE WASHINGTON POST.

The report reproaches Yugoslavia for making appointment to high offices conditional on the "necessary political qualification," that is, on LCY membership. According to that logic, however, one could very much reproach the FRG for not accepting members of the Communist Party in the civil service, or the Turkish Government for banning the foundation of a communist party.

One can, perhaps, also ask the State Department officials whether they employ Communists, and since it is known that they do not, is not this a crude violation of human rights as well?

In presenting the situation in Yugoslavia in a tendentious way, apparently synchronized with the appearance of the State Department report, the prominent American dailies THE NEW YORK TIMES and THE WASHINGTON POST, however, went much further. As an example of the violation of human rights, they take the case of Osijek lawyer Vladimir Seks.

BORBA carried an extensive article on 24 February about Vladimir Seks, a former member of a mass movement, who was replaced in the office of the deputy district public prosecutor in Osijek and expelled from the LCY, and in 1981 even sentenced to 8-months imprisonment for hostile activity. The Osijek court organs are now investigating how could it happen -- something that probably rarely happens even in America -- that Vladimir Seks, instead of being in prison, arrives in courtrooms as the defense attorney of people accused for hostile activity.

Contrary to Helsinki

All this is certainly known to the American Bar Association (ABA), which has been organizing a campaign for Seks and sending protest telegrams to SFRY Presidency President Djuranovic. It is also known to the authors of articles in American dailies who have been shedding crocodile tears over the fate of a man who is "on a hunger strike in a prison hospital and is on the brink of death."

The disproportion between the "Seks case" and the gall vented by the two prominent American dailies (THE NEW YORK TIMES even compared Yugoslavia with South Africa) is so great that every even slightly better informed reader in America would have to understand that Seks in this case is only a guise for some other games and settling of accounts, that this lawyer, until yesterday almost unknown, can hardly "renew Western criticism toward the government in Belgrade."

But let us return for a moment to the annual State Department report. One asks to what extent such an act of a state (publicly evaluating the internal situation and relations in other sovereign states) is in conformity with international law, the UN Charter, and, finally, the CSCE Final Act, which the United States has also signed.

Is not an attempt to measure human rights exclusively by one's own standards, one's own concepts and models, almost a crude, and, in international relations, unallowable interference in other states' internal affairs?

True, the Helsinki Final Act, which was also signed by the United States, enables every signatory to evaluate how all the others are realizing this jointly adopted document, and even whether they respect human rights or not. But, according to joint agreement, such debate can only be held at CSCE meetings and it can only be done with all respect for the political system and social order of each country.

We are afraid that the State Department's practice is going in a direction not in conformity with either the CSCE letter or spirit. It is perhaps only in conformity with an increasingly present tendency of the present American Administration to discuss everything, even human rights, from a position of the big and strong, from the position of power.

'INTERNAL POLICY' GORBACHEV'S 'MAIN PRIORITY'

LD171548 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0113 GMT 17 Mar 85

[By TANJUG correspondent Aleksandar Novacic]

[Text] Moscow, 17 Mar (TANJUG) -- Owing to recent events, Mikhail Gorbachev has come across primarily as an authoritative politician in charge of his country's foreign affairs. There is no doubt, however, that Soviet internal policy will be his main priority. This is where the Soviet people expect most of him.

From the word go, the 54-year-old general secretary has indicated that he is going to be one who will "dictate the tempo." Without any superfluous or empty words he sat down to tackle his tasks making it clear which course he expected the action to take and where solutions to problems should be sought.

The intensive preparations for a new CPSU Central Committee plenum are underway. It is expected that Gorbachev will use the occasion to expound on his basic objectives. Despite the fact that in outlining his own programs the new general secretary will have to proceed from what has already been implemented on the basis of Andropov and Chernenko's political orientations, there is no doubt whatsoever that Gorbachev will place his own stamp upon all this. In this regard, he could also be described as the man of "discontinuity," implying that he will introduce new priorities, dynamism, and efficiency, something he hinted at in his first statement.

The first crucial move in connection with cadre policy could be made as early as at the next CPSU Central Committee session, most likely to be held in March. Chernenko's death has reduced the Politburo to only 10 members. It is realistic to expect that at least four new members will be elected at the next session. In the next few months the top party body will have to tackle many tasks and this will probably be the reason why, in electing new members, priority will be given to those cadres who can respond to enhanced duties not just by virtue of their knowledge and reputation but also by virtue of their abilities and strength. Or, to put it in simple words, younger people are expected to be elected.

In April the Soviet leadership will, among other tasks, be faced with the preparations for the celebrations to mark Victory Day, to be followed by the summit meeting of the countries of the "socialist community," i.e. the Warsaw Pact.

The main tasks, however, arise from the preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress. The congress was due at the end of November or beginning of December this year, but there is a possibility that there might be some changes regarding its date. In any case, the decision to this effect should be adopted at the next CPSU Central Committee plenary session.

More work, better life: That this is the essence of relations between man and society in mature socialism, an IZVESTIYA editorial states, offering its readers this simple truth as one of the priority tasks heralded by the new general secretary.

Of course, there has never been any doubt about the "formula" itself. The difficulties always arose from the problem of how to implement it and how to stimulate workers to work more and better.

As far as the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA is concerned, "the road is clear." It implies the need for vigorous modernization of the economic mechanism and the entire system of management, creative implementation of socialist principles in economic activity, the strengthening of socialist property, independence for enterprises, and the need to enhance their interest in, and responsibility for the results of their own work.

This commentary was inspired by Gorbachev's speech at the extraordinary session of the Central Committee. The general secretary itself was more explicit when he said: We will follow the roads that are already there, but will find new ones as well.

It is precisely these "new roads" that are attracting most attention among the public. It will probably not be long before the public learns about them. In any case Gorbachev himself spoke of the need for party and state bodies to become more accessible to the public, as one of the priority tasks of the party orientation. Referring to Lenin, Gorbachev's idea was to point to the fact that the better informed people are, the greater their involvement and interest. Without the working people's full involvement the goals aspired to cannot be achieved.

More publicity for the activity of state and party organs, as an essential element of political orientation, seems to be that factor on which Grobachev might rely most when formulating the political orientation of the party that he will head in years to come. Or to use the usual local terminology, it could be said that it is the popular masses that the new general secretary is turning to.

It has also been observed that Gorbachev differs from his predecessors in "his work style," which cannot be ascribed to age alone. His initial speeches, numerous meetings with foreign statesmen, and their impressions of him, round off his image as a modern-concept politician. In his first speech he spoke of the need to oppose vigorously "empty words, conceited opinions, and irresponsibility," as well as idleness, lack of discipline, etc. All this met with the Soviet public's approval.

From the very beginning Gorbachev has opened up prospects for many capable cadres, prepared to invest their knowledge and efforts. "The party will strongly stimulate, encourage, and promote those cadres who demonstrate their honest and conscientious attitude to work and social duties not by word but by deeds and practical results, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA stated in its comment on the new general secretary's speeches.

Gorbachev, who has climbed to the top of the Soviet political pyramid at the height of his abilities, has yet to tackle the real tasks.

PLANINC RETURNS FROM SOUTHEAST ASIA TOUR

LD191818 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1603 GMT 19 Mar 85

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Mar (TANJUG) -- This afternoon Federal Executive Council President Milka Planinc returned from official friendly visits to Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand, and India where she held wide-ranging exchanges on bilateral cooperation and current issues of the international political and economic scene with eminent statesmen and politicians. In these talks special attention was devoted to the present activities of nonaligned countries.

At Belgrade airport Milka Planinc and her aides were greeted by Borisav Srebric, vice-president of the Federal Executive Council, Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary for foreign affairs, and other officials. The welcome ceremony was also attended by H.A. Zaibedah and J.R. Hiremath, ambassadors of Malaysia and India, and R. Sondare and K. Sintusinga [names as received], charges d'affaires of Indonesia and Thailand.